EXTRACTS FROM THE FATHERS


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OF

THE CHURCH.

LITERALLY TRANSLATED.

BEING EXTRACTS FROM THE WORKS OF

SULPICIUS SEVERUS	ST. AUGUSTINE
EUSEBIUS	ST. JEROME
ACTS OF THE APOSTLES	TERTULLIAN
SOCRATES	ST. EUCHERIUS
THEODORET	SALVIAN
SOZOMEN	ST. BERNARD
MINUTIUS FELIX	ST. CHRYSOSTOM
ST. CYPRIAN	ST. BASIL THE GREAT
LACTANTIUS	ST. GREGORY NAZIANZEN
ST. AMBROSE	ST. GREGORY OF NYSSA

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PREFACE.

THE translator of that portion of the "CHRISTIAN CLASSICS" which extends from page 145 to the end, has one or two remarks to offer with reference to the translation.

As the present version is intended nearly altogether for the use of students, it has been made as literal throughout, as might in any degree consist with its being intelligible. Should the general reader be acquainted with the classic languages, he will at once understand the departures from English idiom, apparent in the text, and their necessity. Should he be unacquainted with those languages, it is still hoped that, however strange he may find the forms of expression occurring in the translation, their meaning will not be doubtful.

Whenever the translator has been forced to vary in the least from a literal version, he subjoins that literal version in the notes; but the notes are not intended to be in any other sense critical or explanatory.

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SACRED HISTORY,

BY

SULPICIUS SEVERUS.

BOOK FIRST.

I HAVE undertaken to embody (lit., to tie up) events published in sacred literature from the beginning of the world, and to describe them in detached portions (*by selection*) along to our own recollection, with a noting-of-difference of the periods, as (since) many eagerly importuned me for that (lit., *many eagerly importuning that from me*), who were anxious (*hastened*) to know divine *things* thoroughly by an abridged reading. Following whose pleasure, I have not spared my own pains from inclosing (*quin*, i.e., *quid non*, *why I should not enclose*) in two *small books* those *details* which, being written at large, were comprised in very many volumes, attending so to conciseness, as to have subtracted almost nothing from the *things* done.

Moreover, it appeared to me not unbecoming, when I would have run over the Sacred History along to the cross of Christ and the acts of the apostles, also, after those achievements, to annex the destruction of Jerusalem and the persecutions of the Christian people, and presently to speak of the times of peace, and again, of all *things* put into disorder by the domestic dangers of the churches.

As to the rest (*but*), it shall not grieve me (*I shall not be loth*) to acknowledge, that, if in any place the meaning required it, for distinguishing the times and continuing the order, I have used heathen historians, and from them adopted what things were necessary for the knowledge to completeness, that I might both instruct the inexperienced and impress-with-conviction the learned. Howbeit I should not have offered myself to readers as an authority of those *things*, which, being abridged from the sacred volumes, we have methodized, so as that, neglecting those *sources* whence these things have been drawn, they should be desired (regretted), unless when any one should have intimately

known them, he may recognize here what he would have read there. For the universal mysteries of divine occurrences cannot be drawn but (*nisi*) from the springs themselves. Now I shall enter upon the commencement of my narrative.

NOTES.

1. *Exordium*, *primordium* or *origo*, *Initium*, *principium*, *inceptum*—all nearly synonymous.

2. *Ad nostram memoriam*—Sulpicius Severus, born 363, died A.D. 410 or 420.

3. *Efflagitare*, "to dun—to urge with frequent and importunate solicitations". *Postulare*, "to desire" in its twofold meaning, "to wish" or "to require". *Poscere*, "to ask earnestly as a matter of reciprocity or of established usage". *Petere*, "to ask as a favour". *Rogare*, "to ask submissively". *Peto* and *Rogo* admit no nominative but a person. The others are applied likewise to things inanimate.

4. *Libellis*, dim. a *liber*, *liberculus*, then *libellus*, gen. rule for diminutives, forms by addition of *culus* for mascul. *cula* for femin. and *culum* for neuter (little books).

5. *Voluminibus*.—The Romans commonly wrote only one side of the paper or parchment, and always joined one sheet (*scheda*) to the end of another, till they finished what they had to write, and then rolled it up on a cylinder or staff: hence *volumen*, a volume, or thing rolled up, *evolvere librum;* to open a book; *evolvere* notionem, etc. When a book or *volume* was finished, a ball or boss (*bulla*) of wood, bone, horn, or the like, was affixed to it on the outside for security and ornament, called *umbilicus* from its resemblance to that part of the human body: hence *ad umbilicum adducere*, to finish.—*Horat.*, Ep. xiv. 8.

6. *Sanctus*, by religion—sancti dii, sed non *sacri*, vel *sacrosancti*, propriè *divina* sunt *sancta*, *humana* vero *sacra*, and *sacrosancta* homines autem non vere, sed similitudine bonitatis *sancti* et *divini* vocantur.

7. *Excidium Hierosolymæ*, A.D. 71, by Titus, when Turnus Rufus, fulfilling the prophecy of the Saviour, "left not one stone upon another", and drew the plough over Jerusalem.

8. Cæterùm (εις το λοιπον, *as to the rest*) *but* it is properly neut. of cæter.

9. *Ad continuandam Seriem.*—This is one out of the several forms that express the same meaning, such as *continuare Seriem*, continuatum Seriem, causâ continuandi Seriem, ut continuarem Seriem, quo continuarem Seriem, ut continuaretur a me Series, quó continuaretur a me Series, ad continuandam Seriem, continuaturus Seriem, et ad continuandum Seriem. The three first being the least eligible.

FIRST AGE OF THE WORLD.

THE world was made by the Lord, now nearly six thousand years ago (*ab hinc*, *not* INDE or EXINDE, *which refers to time*, or *computation forward*), as we shall set in order in the progression of this work (volume); albeit they who have traced and published (investigatam ediderunt) the account of those periods indifferently agree among themselves. The which when it happen, either by the direction of the Deity or the fault of long time, it will be obliged to be free from cavil (*false imputation*).

ADAM.

However, when the world was formed, man was created: the man was named Adam, the woman Eve. But being placed in Paradise, when they had tasted of the *fruit of the* tree forbidden to them, they were cast forth upon our Earth as banished *people*. Next-after-that (deinde) Cain and Abel are born of them. But the wicked Cain slew his brother. He had a son Enoch, by whom, for the first time, a city was built, called after the name of the founder. From this *latter*, Irad, and from him, Maviael, is sprung. He (this latter) had to his son Mathusael; and he begat Lamech, by whom a (*quidam*) youth is recorded to have been slain (*killed*), AND yet the name of the *person* killed is NOT (*nec*) told; which too (*quidem*) is supposed by the wise to have prefigured (*præmissum fuisse*) a future mystery.

Well then, Adam, after the death of his younger son, begat his son Seth, when he had already completed two hundred and thirty years of age (*the two hundred and thirtieth year of his age*). Moreover (*autem*), he lived nine hundred and thirty years. Seth indeed begat Enos; Enos, Cainan; Cainan, Malaleel; Malaleel, Jared; Jared, Enoch, who, for his justice, is recorded to have been conveyed away (*to Heaven*) by God. His son was called Methusala, who begat Lamech, from whom Noah was born, eminent for justice, and dear to God, and beloved above the rest of mankind.

NOTES.

1. *Exsules*, EX SOLO, banishment, voluntary or involuntary.

2. *Primum*, "for the first time", or "in the first place"; *primo*, "at first", or "in the beginning", often, however, confounded with each other.

3. *Civitas—est hominum* (inhabitants) *Mœnia* dicimus *urbem;* Murus, "a wall for fencing or inclosing"; Mœnia, from *munire*, strictly "battlements or fortifications"; paries, "wall of a house, or partition wall"; *Maceria*, "wall of a garden, villa, grove", etc.

4. *Post necem* (violent death); *Mors*, generic term, denotes "death by any cause", violence, disease, or old age. *Fatum*, "a natural death"; and *nex*, used actively and passively, means "death by violence".

THE DELUGE.

AT which period, God being offended with the wickedness of man (*hominum*), which had gone beyond bounds (*modum*), had determined to cut off mankind altogether. But his harmless life delivered Noah, a just man, from the appointed judgment. The same being instructed by the Lord that a deluge was threatening the world (terris), fabricated from pieces of wood an ark of vast size, and, having besmeared *it* with pitch (bitumine *illitam*), made *it* impervious to the waters; in this (*in the which*) he was shut up, with his wife and three sons, and the same number of daughters-in-law. Birds also by pairs (*pairs also of birds*). Likewise exactly (*itidem* not *item*) of (*unclean*) beasts of their different kind) were taken into the same enclosure. All the rest (*reliqua*, not *cætera*, *alia*, or *altera*), were taken off by the deluge.

Accordingly, when Noah perceived that the rain had already abated, and that the ark was carried about on the still main, thinking that which was *so*, that the waters were gone, he sent forth, for the first time (*primúm*) a raven, in order to (*gratia*) find out the matter, and upon its not returning (*revertente* not *redeunte*), being kept away, as I conceive, by dead bodies, HE SENT a dove, which returned when it had found no (*non*) place for standing ("for

resting its foot"). Being sent forth a second time, it brought back an olive-leaf, a self-evident mark that the tops of the trees were laid bare. Being sent out thirdly, at last it came not back; whence it was noted that the waters had discontinued; so Noah went out of the ark. That occurred (*gestum*) after 2,242 years since (á) the beginning of the world, as I learn.

NOTES.

1. *Decreverat*—like *censere*—a word of dignity as applied to the Roman senate, contradistinguished from the word *jubere*, applied to the Roman *plebs*.

2. *Itidem—item*, "also", "in like manner", but not exact resemblance; *itidem*, "exactly in the same way, both referring to what has been done and said"; *sicut*, "in such manner, in relation to what follows"; *adeo*, "so far like", in reference either to past or future, and pointing to the effect. *Quoque* et *etiam*, "also", denote "in addition", with no regard to parity or resemblance, "therewith".

3. *Imbrem* ab ομβρος (ομου ρεῶν) v. *imbres* dict. qu. *inebres* quia terram inebrient.

4. *Tranquillus*—subject not disturbed—not acted upon—purely passive. *Quietus*—subject, tranquil—inactive—and indisposed to change its state by any feeling of uneasiness or restlessness, applied to persons also.

5. *Corvus*—"an unclean bird"—one of the class among the Romans called *oscines*, that gave auspices by singing; *corvus*, *cornix*, *noctua*, *gallus*, etc., raven, crow, owl, cock, etc. The birds of omen by flight were *alites* or *prepetes*, eagle, vulture, etc.

6. *Columba*, term of the *genus*, *palumba*, of species, and used in poetry.

7. *Invenire*, "to find out", not only in a transitive or relative sense, but also absolutely and in the abstract. *Reperire*, always a relative term, referring to some specific object, either expressed or understood. In the latter, the thing found, whether sought for or not, is, as in this instance, specified. Not necessary in the case of *invenire*.

8. *Animadversum—videre*, simply "to see"; *aspicere*, "to look at", "to behold", whether by accident or intentionally. *Cernere*, "to see clearly so as to discriminate"; *intueri*, "to look upon,

or at, designedly and carefully", "to gaze upon"; *spectare*, "to look at steadily and frequently"; *animadvertere*, "to notice", opposed to "not to observe", or "to overlook".

SECOND AGE OF THE WORLD.

NOAH.

And in the first place (or *for the first time*, *primum* not *primo*), Noah built an altar (*aram* not *altare*) to the Lord, and offered (*immolavit*) victims from the birds.

Presently he is blessed by the Lord, and his sons (cum filiis) and he received a command that he should not feed upon blood, or spill the blood of a human being (*hominis* not *hominum*), because Cain, unshackled by that command (free of it), had stained the beginnings of the world.

So then that age *of the world* (*sæculo* not *ætate* or *ævo*) being unpeopled, Noah and his sons only survived; for he had three, Shem, Ham, and Japhet. Now (*sed*) Ham had incurred a curse from his father, because that he had laughed at his father stupefied by wine.

His son, named Chus (*Chus nomine*), begat the giant Nimrod, by whom the city Babylon is recorded to have been built. Several towns also are spoken of *as being* built at that period, which it was not my purpose to trace by name. But when the human race was being multiplied, and men (*mortales*) possessed different parts and *different* islands—all used one language only—until *that* population (multitude) *that was* to be dispersed over the whole world, drew itself together into one place. They, after the manner of human bias, had a purpose to seek celebrity by some distinguished undertaking (work) ere they would be parted asunder. So attempting to construct a tower (Babel) which might go up to Heaven, *according to* the direction (will) of God, that the employments of the workmen (those at the work) might be hindered, they spoke in a far different style of tongues (language), and not (*neque*) understood by any one, reciprocally, whereby they were more readily scattered, when one (*alter* not *alius* or *cæter* or *reliquus*) easily quitted the other as an alien (with whom he could hold no converse).

However, the world was so divided by the sons of Noah, that Shem was confined within the East; Japhet, the West; Ham in the central *parts*. So the succession, drawn down to Abraham, had in itself nothing indeed remarkable or worthy of record.

NOTES.

1. *Ac* not used before the letter c and q at the beginning of a sentence, nor before a vowel.

2. *Altare* and *ara* a place reared for offering sacrifices—the former from *altus*, only to the higher gods; *aræ* diis *superis* et *inferis* in reference to the heathens. But in Christian writings *ara* is most generally used to the God of Life, and so on solemn and emphatic occasions as *pro aris* et *focis*, *ara* is put for the altar in the *impluviam*, or middle interior of the house where the *dii Penates* were worshiped, and corresponds to *adytum* of the temple.

3. *Immolavit*, identical with *mactare*, i. e., *magis aucta*, which the victim was said to be when led to the altar by the *Popæ*, and after the *mola salsa* or *fruges salsæ* were sprinkled on the head of the beast between the horns, whence the hair was cut off and thrown into the fire (*libamina prima*) *immolare*, in et *mola*.

THIRD AGE OF THE WORLD.

ABRAHAM.

1. MOREOVER (*autem*) Thara was father of Abraham (*Abraham was born of his father Thara*), one thousand and seventy years after the deluge (*in the thousand and seventieth year after*, etc.) Abraham's wife was called Sarah, and they had their first dwelling-place in the country of the Chaldæans. After that (*inde*) he sojourned along with his father 2. in Charan. At which point of time (period) being instructed by the Lord, quitting home, country,

and brother (*Nachor*), migrating to the land of the Canaanites, taking Lot, his brother's son, with him, he settled in a place that has for its name Sichem. A little after (*mox*), owing to a scarcity of corn, he removed to Egypt, and when they had returned again, Lot, parting from his uncle, owing to the great number of his family, that they might enjoy the more unconfined spaces of the then unpeopled district, settled at Sodom. That town is recorded to have been detestable in its inhabitants, and for that *reason* hateful to the Lord. At that period kings of neighbouring nations were up in arms; whereas, previously there had been no strife between men. Now, against those who were attacking the neighbouring *parts* in war, the kings of Sodom, of Gomorrah, and of the neighbouring districts, break forth into battle, and being overthrown in the first onsent, they yielded up the victory. Then Sodom, plundered, became a spoil to the enemy, and Lot was led into captivity. Which, when Abraham had learned, having instantly armed his slaves, three hundred and eighteen in number, he forced into flight the kings elated by their victory, being stript of their spoil and arms. Then he was blessed by Melchisedech the priest, and to the same he presented the tithe (tenth) of his spoil; the rest he gave back to those from whom they had been forcibly taken.

About the same time the Lord spake unto Abraham, and promised that his seed would be multiplied as the sands of the sea and the stars of Heaven, and it was foretold *him* that his seed would be ("*would* sojourn") in a strange land (*foreign*), and that his posterity would suffer bondage in a hostile land for four hundred years, and afterwards be restored to their freedom. Then he and his wife had their name changed by the addition of a single letter, so from (for) Abram he is now called Abraham; she from Sarái Sarah; of the which incident, however, that its mystery was not without purpose (*inane*), it is not the object of this work to explain.

At that same time the law of circumcision was imposed upon Abraham; moreover, he had a son, Ishmael, by a bond-woman (Hagar); and when he himself was a hundred years old, but his wife ninety, the Lord, who had come with two angels, promised them that they shall have a son, Isaac. After that (*inde*), angels being sent to Sodom, found Lot sitting at the gate. Them (whom) being received in hospitality and treated to dinner, when he, taking them for men, retained at his house, a reprobate band of youth (*juventus*) from the town, set upon (assailed) the newly-come guests with abusive language. For which reason the

angels threw a blindness upon the eyes of the rude *ones*. Then Lot, informed by his guests that the town was to be instantly destroyed, went forth with his wife and daughters. They were forbidden, however, to look behind. But the woman disobeying the direction (through a human evil, by whose means *persons* rather difficultly abstain from things forbidden), turned back her eyes, and she is recorded to have been immediately changed into a heap ("pillar of salt"). Howbeit, Sodom was burnt up by fire from Heaven. Moab and Ammon were born of the daughters of Lot.

Almost about the same time, when also Abraham was a hundred years old, Isaac, his son, was born. Then Sarah thrust out (*forth*) the bondwoman, by whom Abraham had begotten the son. She (*who*) is recorded to have resided in the wilderness along with her son, and *to have been* sustained (*guarded*) by the protection of the Lord. Not long after, the Lord trying the faith of Abram, demands his son Isaac *to be* sacrificed by his father (Abraham) to him. Whom, having hesitated not to present, when he had laid the child upon the altar, and was unsheathing the sword, a voice was sent from Heaven *to the effect* that he would spare the boy. A ram was at hand as a victim, and the ceremony of the sacrifice being over, and the Lord spake to Abraham, engaging to perform those things that he had already promised. But, when Sarah was beyond her hundred and twenty-seventh year, she died. Her body was buried with attention on the part of her husband at Hebron, a town of the Canaanites, for there Abraham was staying. Then, Abraham seeing Isaac, his son of (at) man's estate (for as much as he was then spending his fortieth year), commanded his servant that he look out for a wife to him, of that tribe, however, and country from which he was himself evidently sprung (*seemed sprung*), only that he conduct the maiden, when met with, into the country of the Canaanites, and not suppose that he (Isaac) is to return to fatherland for the sake of a wife. And that he might sedulously perform these commands he imposed upon him a solemn oath (*sacramentum* not *jusjurandum* or *juramentum*); consequently, having set out to Mesopotamia, he arrived at the town of Nahor, Abraham's brother, and went into the house of Bethell, the Syrian, who was born unto Nahor, his father. Espying his daughter Rebecca, a comely damsel, he proposed for her, and brought her to his master. After that Abraham took a wife named Cethura, and begat sons by her. But to Isaac, who was born of Sarah, he bequeathed his estate ("all that he had"); furthermore, among

those that he had begotten of others ("concubines"), he divided gifts, and so were they parted (separated) from Isaac. Abraham fulfilled his appointed time after the completion of a hundred and seventy years, and his body was laid in the tomb (cave of Macpelah) beside Sarah, his wife.

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NOTES.

1. *Autem*—"moreover"—implying addition, signifies continuation of subject. *Sed*—insepar, prepos. in fact—means "this apart"; or, "laying this aside", denotes transition or change of subject. *Apud*—"with", or "at the house or place of", or "among", never answering the question *quo*, or, never signifying motion to or towards. *Cum*—"in company with"—generally joined with *una* uter, "in the number of".

2. *Inde* et *deinde*, for which *tum* is sometimes used—"then", or "after that"; *tum*—"then", or "at that time"; igitur—"then", "therefore"; itaque—"and so", "therefore".

4. *Sichem*, in John's Gospel *Sichar*, afterwards Neapolis—modern Napiouse.

5. *Cum*, for *quum*, sometimes *dum*, generally with subjunctive mood. This subordinate proposition, *quod cum Abraham comperisset*, would be written differently by different authors, retaining the same sense. By its passive *quod cum ab Abraham compertum esset*, or by the ablative absolute, a form very much used by this writer, *quo ab Abraham comperto*, or by the participial nominative, as in the instance of the next words, *armatis servis suis*, required by the spirit of our language to be translated *armans servos suos*, "arming his servants", rather than "his servants being armed".

6. *Melchisedech—decimas*—the first instance on record of ecclesiastical tithes.

7. *Spospondit*—(σπενδῶ)—a word of holy signification. *Promittere*, simply "to hold out" expectation, etc. *Polliceri* signifies express and certain—good or evil—engagements, with strong affirmations in a good sense, as exciting hope.

8. *Ancillâ* et *serva*—a female servant in slavery. *Verna*, "one born in domestic slavery". *Famula*, more a generic term—"a female servant in a state of freedom". Would not serve in

this passage, for Hagar could not save herself against her master or mistress.

9. *In porta sedentem*—not unmeaning. The courts at that time were held at the entrance and *gates* of great towns and cities: so in Psalm "*nisi dominus*", cxxvi., by Solomon, v. 5—"He shall not be confounded when he shall speak to his enemies in the gate".

10. Homines—*human beings*—from *humi*, parallel to ανθρῶπος its Greek, from ανῶ τρεπῶ ὦψ (os sublime dedit homini deus). *Vir*, from *vis*, has its parallel in ανηρ from ανυῶ.

11. *Præsto* indeclin. adject.; present, *loco* victimæ, as a victim, or *close at hand by the victim* (*i. e.*, Isaac), as a dat. case on *præsto*.

12. *Oriundus* respects circumstances of one's ancestors or birthplace, origin of the family, etc. *Ortus* respects one's birth or immediate descent by blood—sometimes, however, denoting a beginning or origin where no generation is implied. NATUS *ex utero procedens—e semine proveniens*, implying literally, or figuratively, a generating cause—said of father or mother.

13. Modo ut inventam, etc. And I will make thee swear by the Lord, the God of Heaven and the God of the Earth, that thou shalt not take a wife unto my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, among whom I dwell. But thou shalt go unto my country, and to my kindred, and take a wife unto my son Isaac. And the servant said unto him: Peradventure the woman will not be willing to follow me unto this land; must I needs bring thy son again into the land from whence thou camest? And Abraham said unto him, Beware, etc., etc.

ISAAC.

BUT (*at* olim *ad* unde *adque* pro *atque*, ἀτὰρ). Rebecca, a long time childless, gave birth to twins, owing to constant prayers (on part) of her husband to the Lord, nearly twenty-one (in the twenty-first) years from the day of her marriage. They (who, *literally*) are recorded to have leapt (ἀγαλλίασασθαι) in their mother's womb. And it was revealed by an answer of the Lord that two peoples (nations—Jews and Edomites, or Gentiles) were pre-signified in these, and that the elder would be made subject (ὑποταχθεῖς) to the power (*principio*, as used also by *Tert.*) of the younger. Now (*sed*) the first-born, rough, with big hair, was called Esau: the younger was named Jacob.

At that particular time (*tempestate*, not *tempore*, like καιρὸς, not χρονὸς), a severe scarcity of corn had come (*like an invader*) upon *all* lands. Owing to which severe exigency (*necessitate*) Isaac withdrew (cessit a χαδω f. 2 of χαζῶ-απεχῶρει or ανεχαζε) unto King Abimelech (OF PHILISTIA—*Abimelech, same as pater, means rex, or pater regis. It was the title of the kings of Philistia, as Ptolomy was for the kings of Egypt, and Cæsar for the emperors of Rome. This was not the wicked son of Gideon of after years*), in Gerar, being warned of the Lord not to go down (*ne descenderet*) into Egypt, and to the same is promised the possession of that entire land, and there he receives a blessing (is blessed). And being much increased in cattle and all "wordly goods" (*substantiá*) he is turned out by the inhabitants, owing to the working of envy (*agente invidia*). Being driven forth, he sat down by the well of the Oath (*juramenti*, not *jurisjurandi* nor *sacramenti*). Therefore, rather incommoded (*gravior quasi*, geravior from *gero*, βαρὺτεροσ) by years, blinded (his lights, "eyes" being covered *with darkness*), when he was preparing to bless Esau, his son, *then* Jacob, by the management of Rebecca, his mother, offered himself for the blessing instead of his brother, to be bowed down to by princes and nations.

NOTES.

1. *Sterilis—a* στερὲω (ἄτεκνος, ἄκαρπος). "And Isaac intreated the Lord for his wife, because she was *barren*, and the Lord was intreated of him, and Rebecca, his wife, conceived, and the children *struggled together* within her". The same is written in the Gospel of John—in the womb of Elizabeth, in the words of our Latin notes, as above, when Mary, her cousin, the mother of our Lord, entered her dwelling.

2. *Ne in Egyptum descenderet*, etc., καταβοίνοί, alluding no less to the spiritual, than the physical descent from Canaan, or the "Promised Land", to Egypt.

3. *Adorandus principibus*, προσκυνέθησομενος, ab ad et *os*, the mouth with which they kissed the knees of the statues, as the seat of mercy, hence *genua incerare deorum Juv.:* θεῶν εν, γουνάσι κείται. Hom.

JACOB.

At which incidents Esau being enraged designed a violent death (*necem* α νεκυς, *mortem sine sanguine violentam*). Through which dread (dread of which) Jacob, at the spiriting of his mother, fled for refuge (*confugit*) into Mesopotamia, being charged by his father to take (ut acciperet) a wife from the house of Laban, Rebecca's brother. So great an anxiety had they, when they settled in foreign lands, still to propagate their stock within their own family. So Jacob, having gone into Mesopotamia (Diarbec or Al-Gezirah), is recorded to have seen the Lord in his sleep, and for this, holding the place of the dream hallowed to God (*sacratum* not *sacrum*), he took therefrom a stone, and vowed that there (in that place) should be the inscription of the Lord's House, if he should have returned in prosperity, and that he would give unto the Lord the tenth (portion) of all that would have been acquired by him.

Then he betook himself to Laban, his mother's brother, whom, acknowledged as his sister's son, he received kindly in hospitality. Laban had two daughters, Leah and Rachel: now Leah had less beautiful eyes (*more ill-favoured in her eyes*); Rachel is recorded to have been beautiful. By whose comeliness Jacob being charmed (ληφθείς), burned with love of the damsel, and demanding her in marriage to himself from her father, he gave right and title of himself in a service of seven years. But, after the time was fully served (impleto), Leah is put in her place by counterfeit (*ei supponitur*), and he is brought under in slavery (*subditur*, ὑποτίθεται, ὑποβαλλέται) seven years more (*rursum*), and Rachel is given him. But we have heard that she was a long time childless, that Leah was fruitful. Of the children that Leah had by Jacob, these are the names: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Juda, Issachor, Zabulon, Dina; but by the bondwoman of Leah, Gad and Aser; from the bondwoman of Rachel were born, Dan and Nephthali. However Rachel, when she had already despaired of issue, brought forth Joseph. Then Jacob desiring to come back unto his father, when Laban, his father-in-law, had given him a portion of the cattle as wages of his servitude, on account of which (offers) Jacob, his son-in-law, conceiving him unfair (*parum æquum*) to himself, snspecting treachery from him, set out secretly on the twenty-first year nearly after he had come. Rachel, without knowledge of her husband, stole (*abstulit dolo*) the images that were her father's (*patris idola*).

Through which offence Laban having pursued after his son-in-law, not finding the images (*non repertis idolis*) having made a reconciliation, returned again, having much besought his son-in-law to bring no more wives (*ne uxores superinduceret*) over his daughters. Then Jacob, departing, is recorded to have seen angels and the camp of the Lord ("God's Host"). But when he appointed his route by the country of Edom, in which Esau, his brother, dwelt (*quam incolebat*), having sent emissaries first, and gifts, he tried to find out (*exploravit*) *the feelings of* his brother, whom he mistrusted. Then the other (*ille*) went forth to meet his brother, and yet Jacob trusted himself no farther to his brother (*nec tamen credidit*). But, on the day before the brothers met together, the Lord is recorded to have wrestled with Jacob, under a human shape that he took (*humanâ specie assumptâ*, passive form). And when he had prevailed against the Lord, yet he was not ignorant that he was not a mortal man; he earnestly requested (*flagitabat*, ἐξήτησε) that a blessing be bestowed upon himself by him. Then he had his name changed by God, so that from Jacob he was called Israel (ὥστε ὀνομζεσθαι Ισράηλ). But when he, in turn, inquired from the Lord the name of the Lord, he was answered that it was not to be asked, because it was Wonderful. However, the broad part of Jacob's thigh was benumbed from the wrestling (*obtorpuit ex colluctatione:*—ἐναρ κᾶτο ἐκ ἀγῶνιστίας). Thereupon Israel, avoiding his father's house, moved forward his company to Salem, a town of the Sichemites, and there receiving a piece of ground (a place) for a sum of money (purchase), he pitched his tent. Hemor, the Hivite prince, ruled over (*prærat*) this town. His son, Sichem, ravished Dinah, Jacob's daughter, born of Leah. The which, when it was heard, Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brothers, slew by a stratagem (*dolo*, viz., *by taking advantage of circumcision*) all of the male sex in the town, and spiritedly avenged the wrong of their sister. The town was plundered by the sons of Jacob, and all the spoil was carried off. Jacob is recorded to have borne that transaction with very great vexation. Soon after, being instructed by the Lord, he repaired to Bethlehem, and there built an altar unto the Lord. Next, after that (inde), he pitched his tent in a part of the tower Gader. Rachel died in childbirth (*ex partu*). The child (*boy*) was called Benjamin. Isaac died one hundred and eighty years of age (*annos natus centum et octoginta*). Howbeit Esau was powerful in riches, having taken unto him wives from the nation of the Canaanites also ("from the daughters of Canaan"), whose issue I deemed not meet to be

registered in this so abridged a work. If there shall be any one more desirous to know, let him go back to the first sources (*origines*, *genesis*, *etc.*).

NOTES.

1. *Necem*, "death by violence", but without blood,—used actively or passively; *fatum*, "natural death", and *mors*, the generic term, "any kind of death", by violence, disease, or age.

2. *Molitus est a moles*, εμηχανᾶτο, designed.

3. *Mesopotamia*, *a μέσος ποταμὸς* (Euphratem scil. et Tigrim), a part of ancient Assyria in Asia, called by the Hebrews *Aram*, *Naharaim*, and *Padan Aram;* by the old Greeks Seleucia; by the Latins, *Mediamnæ* and *Terræ Interamnæ*. It is now called *Diarbeck*, and by the Arabs Al-Gezirah (*i.e.*, the Island), subject to the *Turks*, celebrated for having *Paradise* within it, for being the birthplace of Abraham, whither Jacob fled from Esau, and for being the place whence the wise men came that brought presents to Christ by the guiding of a star.

4. *Hortante matre*, *admonitus a patre.—Hortari* is "animating and encouraging"; monere and admonere, "friendly"; *suadere* and *persuadere*, "argumentative and persuasive".

5. *Uxorem* quasi *unxor* ab *ungo*.—Because the bride anointed the door-posts of her husband with the fat of swine or wolves to avert fascination or witchcraft enchantments, as *nubere* (se *viro* scil.) signifies to marry on the part of the woman, in allusion to her having covered herself with the luteo flammeo (flame-coloured or saffron-coloured veil) to denote her modesty, and the man was said *ducere* (scil. *uxorem domum*). In reference to the numbers of relations and friends that attended the nuptial procession (*pompam nuptialem ducentes*). It was called *officium*.

6. *Familia* (*οἰκία*).—Among the Romans this word meant all the branches diverging from a *gens*, and it marked the third name or *cognomen*, whereas the *gens* nearly corresponded with our *clan*, and marked the second name or *nomen*. Their first name or *prænomen* marked the individual, but *familia* or *famula* more properly means originally all the slaves in one house: "Nam *familia constat e servis pluribus:* Cic. 'Quindecim liberi homines *populus* est'. Totidem servi *familia;* totidem vincti *ergastulum*".

7. *Per soporem.*—"These dreams were prophetical, and sent from God to commune in mercy and instruct its kindred spirit within the fleshly shell of the body; otherwise, generally speaking, the observing of dreams is condemned in the Scriptures as superstitious and sinful".—*Deut.*, xviii. 19; *Eccles.*, xxxiv. 2, 3.

8. *Patris idola.*—Rachel is supposed to have stolen those false gods to withdraw her father from idolatry.

9. *Castra domini*, "camps of God".—*Gen.*, xxxii. 1, 2.

10. *Colluctatus.*—"This wrestling, in which Jacob, assisted by God, was a match for an angel (in human shape), was so ordered that he might learn by this experiment of the divine assistance, that neither Esau nor any other man should have power to hurt him. It was also spiritual, as appeared by his earnest prayer, urging, and at last obtaining, that angel's blessing".—*Douay Bible note.*

11. *Ægre tulisse.*—"Because it was cruel, profanatory, hypocritical, treacherous, and vindictive; though otherwise their zeal against so foul a crime was commendable".—*Douay.*

12. *Obiit* (mortem) *decesit* (vitâ).

JOSEPH.

After his father's departure, Jacob abided in that land in which Isaac had lived; his sons, for the sake of pasture-ground (*νομης*), had withdrawn with the flocks some distance from him; yet Joseph and little Benjamin had abided quiet at home. Joseph was very dear to his father, and for that, hateful to his brothers, partly also (or, at the same time, *ἅμα* simul a *similis*) because it seemed to be foretold (*επισημαίνεσθαι*) by numerous dreams of his, that he would be greater than they all. Thereupon (*τοίνυν igitur*, i.e., *id agitur*, ut *ergo*, *ἔργω, actionis* seu *operæ notio)* being sent by his father to look after the flocks and come and see his brothers, he became (was) exposed to their wrong (*ἀδικία* not *ὕβρις*), for, upon having seen their brother, they adopted the project (*βούλη*) of his murder; but when Reuben, whose mind was abhorrent to so great a crime, opposed them, he (Joseph) was thrown down into a deep pit. Soon after, at the persuasions of Juda, being brought to milder measures, they sold him to merchants who were then repairing to Egypt, and by them was put into the hands of Potiphar, overseer (steward) of Pharaoh (2nd.) About (per a *περι*) the same time Judah, Jacob's son, took in

marriage Sue, a Canaanite woman, by whom he begat three sons, Her, Ona, Sela. Now, Her is united in marriage with Thamar, at whose death Onan took his brother's wife, who is reported *to be* cut off by the Lord because he did not like to beget children by her. Then Thamar gave birth to twins by her father-in-law. The infants were named Phares and Zara.

But, when Joseph was kindly entreated by the king's overseer, who had taken him for a sum of money, and (*when*) he had charge of his house and family, himself comely with distinguished beauty, he had turned upon himself the eyes of his master's wife. With lying wickedness she slanders him, frequently set upon, and not "consenting unto her" (ὅτι ἐπικλινομενον), she complains to her husband that outrage was threatened her. So Joseph was cast into prison. There were in the same watch-and-ward (custodia, φυλακῇ) two servants of the king, who, when they had told their dreams unto Joseph, he, divining futurity from the dream, declared that one of them would suffer capital punishment; that the other would be set free. And so it turned out. Well, then (*igitur*, id agitur, τοίννν), after a lapse of two years a dream was presented to the king. The which when it could not be solved by the wise men (*prudentibus*, ἰυβολοίς, φρονιμοίς) of the Egyptians, that servant of the king, who was released from prison, acquaints the king that Joseph was a marvellous interpreter of dreams. So Joseph is set free, and the king had his dream expounded:—that in the seven next years there would be the greatest plenty of corn—in the following ones, scarcity. Through fear of which (*quo metu*, as *summus* or *imus mons*, means not *the highest or lowest mountain*, *but the highest or lowest part of the mountain ;* or (*by which fear*), the king being much alarmed (*perculsus*, ἔκπλαγείς), seeing the Spirit of God in Joseph set him over the management of the corn (the commissariat), making his power equal to his own. Then Joseph, when corn abounded throughout all Egypt, heaped up a great plenty, and having multiplied the granaries, he had taken measures against the coming (*futuram*) famine. At that *remarkable* period the hopes and safety of Egypt were centred in him. About the same time, indeed, he begat by Aseneth two sons, Manasses and Ephraim. However, he was himself thirty years *old* when he received that highest command from the king: for he was sold by his brothers at seventeen years of age. Meantime, when matters in Egypt were wisely regulated against the famine, a severe dearth of corn shook the world. Urged by which severe want, Jacob sent his (ten) sons, having kept Benjamin only be-

hind at home with himself. So then his brothers visit Joseph having *all* things at his command (*rerum potentem* δύνάτον ἔν πάσι), in whom was vested (*penes quem*) the control of the corn. Whom when he beheld, craftily concealing the recognition, *he personally* (ipse) urged (insisted) that they were come in enmity and subtlety to spy upon those parts. Besides he was vexed because he did not see his brother Benjamin. The matter, accordingly, was brought to this, that they promised his presence, forsooth (doubtless *nimirum*, δήπου), that inquiry might be made from him whether they had entered Egypt with a view (*causâ explorandi* ὡς κάταςκοπήσομενοί) to spy upon it. But for the credibility of the promise Simeon is given up as a hostage. Corn was given them then without money (*gratis* δῶρεάν, προῖκά). Accordingly, coming back again, they brought Benjamin, as had been agreed upon. Then Joseph allowed himself to be recognized by his brothers, not without shame on the part of the evil-deservers. So he sent them back home laden with corn, and gifted with many *things*, forewarning them that the famine would continue (*be*) for five years still; that they, with father and all their children (*offspring*) and family (*including servants*) should remove to himself. Accordingly, Jacob goes down into Egypt, the Egyptians showing every mark of satisfaction (*lætantibus*, not *gaudentibus*), the king being heartily glad (*gaudente*, χάιροντος not γηθῆντός or φαῖδρὰ, as above), being kindly received by his son (*descendit susceptus* hypallage for *descendens suscipitur*). That was brought about (*gestum*, διαπράττομενον) in the hundred and thirtieth year of Jacob's life, and also (*autem*) 1360 from the Deluge. But from that time, in which Abraham settled in the land of the Canaanites, to that in which (κατα quod scil.), Jacob entered Egypt, they tell us there were 215 years. So, then, Jacob, in the seventeenth year after he had come into Egypt, a distemper attacking him, entreats his son Joseph to restore (*ut redderet*) his body to his own burying-place. Then Joseph presented his own sons to his father for his blessing (*benedicendos*, to be blessed), who, after being blessed, when, however, by virtue of his blessing, he had set the younger above the elder, he *blessed in rotation* all the sons. Moreover, he died one hundred and forty-seven years of age. His funeral was sumptuously solemnized. Joseph buried his body in the burying-place of his ancestors. After his father's death, he treated with kindness his brothers, being fearful because of (*pro*) conscience. Moreover, Joseph himself died in the hundred and tenth year of his age.

NOTES.

1. *Carus* implies virtuous affection; also, a sentiment of the understanding. Amor—every species of love, pure or impure: mere passion or emotion, extending to superiors, equals, and inferiors. Dilectus expresses selection or preference, owing to superior excellence in the object.

2. *Suadente Juda*—by the arguments or persuasions of Judah. *Monente* would mean friendly and affectionate advice. *Hortante*, exciting and encouraging.

3. *Id gestum*, *poeta* FACIT *fabulam* et non agit: *Histrio* AGIT et non *facit*. Imperator non AGIT neque FACIT sed *gerit* res, *i. e.*, succinct. ACTÆ igitur sunt magistratūs in toga: RES GESTÆ Imperatoris in bello.

4. *Lustravit*—a most choice word in this passage, as conveying the twofold idea of *purification* and *circuition*. At the end of every five years (lustrum), and when the Roman *census* was finished, an expiatory or purificatory sacrifice (*sacrificium lustrale*) was made, consisting of a sow, a sheep, and a bull (*suove taurilia*), which were carried round the whole assembly, and then slain; and thus the people were said to be purified (*lustrari*), hence, *lustrare* also signifies to go round, to survey.

THE BONDAGE IN EGYPT.

So then it is incredible to be told how quickly the Hebrews, who had come down into Egypt, increased and filled Egypt with multiplied (πολλαπλασιασθεντι) offspring. But, upon the death of their king, who, by reason of the good service (*meritum*, ενέργετημα) of Joseph, cherished them with kindness, (*benigné quasi beningené*, a *bonus et ingenium*, ενμένῶς), they were oppressed under (*by*) the government of succeeding kings. For, both the hard work of building cities, and because now their exceeding great (*abundans*, *ab* et *unda*, metaphor from the swelling of streams, περίσσευῶν) numbers were dreaded, lest at some time (*quandoque* here for *aliquando*, i. e., *aliquo quando* ποτὲ and not ενιότε) they might assert their freedom by arms, they were obliged by royal proclamation to drown (*mergere aquis*)

their newly born little children, nor was it allowed them to pretend that they misunderstood (eluded, *issimulare*) the bloody command.

NOTES.

1. *Regum succedentium*—After the death of Pharaoh the 2nd, "there arose another king who knew not Joseph. He, *scil.*, of whom the line "*Demerso insignem cecinit Pharaone triumphum Moses*".

2. *Ædificandarum civitatum*—(urbium?)—"making bricks", scil., *civitas* πολιτεία, πόλις, and URBS, αστυ, differ in this, that *incolæ dicuntur civitas*, urbs vero complectitur *ædificia*. Eblana est urbs et eam *civitas incolit*.

3. *Parvulos* (diminutive) et RECENS, for RECENTER *editos*.

4. ABUNDANS non quod superfluum est sed quod est copiosum et accumulatum. REDUNDAT quod supervacaneum est.

5. *Dissimulare* is "to dissemble, or conceal what we are". *Simulare*, "to pretend to be what we are not"—multa simulavi invitus et *dissimulavi cum dolore.—Cic.*

MOSES (Hebrew word, *i. e.*, drawn out of the water).

At which point of time Pharaoh's daughter caused (*curavit a cor* ἐπεμελησάτο) that a young child found by (*in*) the river (Nile) be brought up as her son. She named the boy (*nomen puero dedit*) Moses. This Moses, when he was in (*ageret*) his years of manhood, (*i. e.*, was spending his, etc.), espying a Hebrew knocked down by an Egyptian, being strongly moved (διακινηθεις) with indignation (αγανακτησει) he kicked the Egyptian to death, (calce, λάξ perculsum interemit). Dreading punishment, presently, from (for) the deed, he fled away (απεφύγε *profūgit*, not effūgit, nor even *confūgit*) into the land Madia, (*in Arabia Petræa, called so from Abraham's son, by Ketura*) and sojourning with Jethro (*Raguel*), priest of that district (*quarter*), he took that *man's* daughter Zipporah in marriage, and by her begat two sons—Gerson and Eliezer.

NOTES.

1. Interemit—*slew*.—This he did by a particular inspiration of God, as a prelude to his delivering the people from their oppression and bondage. "*He thought*", says St. Stephen, *Acts*, vii. 25, "*that his brethren understood that God by his hand would save them.* But such particular and extraordinary examples are not to be imitated". *Douay: Calce*, λὰξ εν στηθεσι πρὸσβας. Hom.

JOB (Hebrew, means hated or enduring enmity).

In this reach of times existed *(was)* Job, who had embraced the law of nature *(as an Edomite and descendant of Esau)*, and the acknowledgment of God (*agnitionem*, not cognitionem) and all justice, very much abounding in riches, and more renowned in this, that he was neither depraved by them in their entireness (integris ὁλοτέλέσί), nor vitiated (perverted) by their loss (amissis, αποβληθεὶσαίς). For, when, being stript by the Devil of his estate (bonis), he had been also bereft of his children. Being ultimately (*ad extremum* κατ ἔσχατον) visited with dreadful sores, he could not be constrained to act wrong (sin) in any manner *(in any direction)* through intolerance of his anguish. Having obtained at last the wages of his Heavenly testification, being restored to a sound condition (*sanitate* ἕνεξία of mind or body—not *valetudini*, ῥῶμη bodily health only), he received back unto double as much, all that he had lost.

FREEDOM OF THE HEBREWS.

BUT yet (*at* αταρ) the Hebrews being oppressed by the hardship of bondage, being turned in lamentings to Heaven, they looked to the hope of help from God. Then to Moses feeding his sheep a bush (βατος, *rubus*) appeared suddenly to be on fire, yet, what is more wonderful, with flames doing no harm (innocuous). Being astonished (εκπλαγεὶς, obstupefactus), he ap-

proached nearer to the bush, and immediately God spoke to him in words nearly to this effect: that he was the Lord of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, whose offspring, crushed down (*ταπεινῶμενον*) by the tyranny of the Egyptians, he should wish *to be* rescued from their calamities. He should therefore (*ergo* *ἐργῶ*) take upon him an embassy (*iter*, *πορείαν* not *ὁδοιπορίαν*) to the king of Egypt, and show himself as a leader of (for) restoring the people to their freedom. He strengthens him, when he hesitates, with authority (*confirmat potestate*; *κυρόει δυνάμει*, *ἐξουσία*), communicating to him the gift of working miracles. So Moses having set out into Egypt, signs-and wonders (*σημεία* not *σηματα*) being first exhibited before his people, having taken his brother Aaron with him, he visited the king, he declares himself sent by God, and that he announces in God's words *to him* to let the Hebrew people go. But he, denying that he knew the Lord, refused to obey his command. And when Moses, as a testification of the commands of God, had made a serpent of his rod, soon after had turned all the waters into blood, and had covered the entire land with frogs, the Chaldæans doing like *things*, he declared whatever was done by Moses to be magic arts rather than the power of God (virtutem a vir, vis, *ἀρέτην* ab *Ἀρής* Mars), until the land was covered over with fleas (ciniphes, only plur a *κνίψ*), spread over it, the Chaldæans (magicians) acknowledging that those things were done by the might of Heaven. Then the king, constrained by his calamity, having called to him Moses and Aaron, grants to the people the power of going away, if so be (*modo*) that they would turn away the misfortune that was brought upon him; but when that disaster (*clades*, *λὐμη ἥττα*) was removed, that spirit, unable to govern itself (*impotens sui*, *ακρατος*), returning to itself (its nature) did not permit the Israelites to go forth, as had been agreed upon. Ultimately, he was crushed and subdued by ten plagues of his person and of his kingdom.

NOTES.

1. Querelis— (*μεμψιμοίριαις* v. *ὀλοφύρομενοί*).

2. Iter ergo susciperet, *either take upon him* an embassy, as translated, or set out upon (undertake) a journey, *ὁδοίπορίαν*, not *πορίαν ὑποδεχοίτο*.

3. *Confirmat potestate—Potentia est in eo quod possumus—Potestas in eo quod licet.*

4. *Clades*—ramorum, succulorumque detritio, *calamitas* calamorum, *Strages* stratarum arborum, *Jactura* bonorum in navibus per tempestatem.

5. Convenerat—*convenire in urbem*—"to come into the city and assemble"; *convenire in urbe*—"to assemble in the city, having been there before"; *convenire aliquem*—"to speak to, or have an interview with, any one"; *convenit hoc mihi*—"this suits me, or is convenient to me"; convenit mihi cum illo—"I agree with him". *Convenire in aliquem* is *in eum pertinere*, in *eum cadere*. E.g., "Suspicio convenit in eum"—the suspicion is consistent with his character.

INSTITUTION OF THE PASSOVER.

But ere the people went forth from Egypt up to this (*adhuc*, μέχρι τοῦτου), inexperienced (*rudis*, ἀμαθὴς, ἀπαίδευτος) in *the division* of time, they are furnished with commandments of the Lord, *that* they might know that month, which was then (in *progress*) to be the first of all the months. Moreover, that the sacrifice of that day was to be solemnised so as an anniversary (εἰς ἑορτην) for *after* ages; that on the fourteenth day of the month a he-lamb, without blemish, of one year, should be slain for a victim; that the posts might be rubbed with the blood of the same, but not a bone to be broken; that they should abstain from leaven seven days; they should use unleavened bread, and hand down this custom to posterity.

THE GOING FORTH FROM (*exodus, exitus*) EGYPT, AND THE CROSSING OF THE RED SEA.

So the people went forth rich in their own abundant supplies, and more richly stored with the spoils of Egypt; whose number, from five and seventy Hebrews who had first come down to Egypt, had come up (*pervenerat*) to six hundred thousand men; moreover, in the four hundred and thirtieth year from that in

which, for the first time, Abraham had come to the land of the Canaanites, but one thousand five hundred and seventy-five from the Deluge. Therefore, before them, going forth hastily, a pillar of cloud by day, a pillar of fire by night, was carried (*præferebatur illis egressis*). But when, by reason of the interposition of the bay of the Red Sea, the way conducted by the land of the Philistines (*Philistiim*), lest a means of returning to Egypt by the mainland, on the usual route, might be opened to the Hebrews, underrating the wilderness, being turned away by the intimation of God, they were brought down upon (εισεφέροντο) the Red Sea, and tarrying long (or doubting), there they pitched their camp. The which, when it was told to the king, that the Hebrew people, by wandering from their way (*viæ errore*, ἐξ ὁδοῦ πλανῶμενοι) had come down upon the interposed sea, that there was no exodus to them, *that* element stopping them, raging in spirit (*furens animi* ἐν θυμῷ μανίωδης), because he was fretted that so many thousand persons quitted his kingdom and his power, he leads out his army instantly.

And now the arms, and standards, and lines extended over the wide-spreading plains, were to be seen (*visebantur*, not *videbantur* nor *visabantur*); when, while the Hebrews were trembling with apprehension, and looking-up-much (ASPECTANTIBUS, not *aspicientibus*, nor *videntibus*, nor *intuentibus*, nor *animadvertentibus*, nor *cernentibus*) to Heaven, Moses, instructed by God, divided the sea, struck with his rod: so the people had a practicable passage (*iter pervium* διάβατη οδοίπορία) as on the mainland, the waters receding to the sides. The Egyptian king, not hesitating to pursue them in their retreat (*cedentes*), having entered the sea where it was open, was annihilated with all his army, the waters presently closing together. Then Moses, rejoicing exceedingly in the safety (*incolumitate*, not *securitate*, nor *salute*, nor *tuto*, nor *sospite*) of his people, in the destruction of their enemies, and the supereminence of God, sang a canticle (*song of praise*, ἄσμα) unto the Lord, and the same did all the multitude of male and female sex.

NOTES.

1. *Columna*, στύλος, a *columen quod* sustinet *columna* uno scapo constat: PILA structurâ constat aut lapideâ aut cœmentitia aut lateritiâ. Quod superponitur *columnæ Epystylium*, i.e., ca-

pitellum, *the chapiter;* Quod supponitur *Basis* sivè SPIRA, *the pedestal;* Ipsum corpus *scapus*, the SHAFT or SHANK.

2. *Facultas* rerum, *facilitas* morum, FACULTAS locupletis, FACILITAS artificis.

3. *Mare Rubrum* or Erythræum—Red Sea, so called, as supposed by some, from its washing Idumæa or Edom, the country of Esau, who was a red "hairy man" and had sold his birthright for a mess of *red* broth,—or there was *red* vegetation on the banks of this sea, as some think.

MANNA.

Now (*sed*) a scarcity (ενδεία, penuria) of water incommoded them *as they* entered the wilderness, and, being found, it was of no use to them on account of its bitterness ("the waters of Mœra").

And then, for the first time, the obstinate-disobedience of an unruly people appeared, and now it was carried against Moses, when, being instructed by God, he brought wood into the water (*introduced a piece of wood into the water*), the efficacy of which was to impart a sweet flavour to the fluids. Then the company, being advanced, took up their quarters at Elim, having found twelve water springs and seventy palm trees.

Again the people, complaining of hunger, kept railing at Moses, longing for (*desiderans* veluti *lucem sideris* quam amamus optantes, επιθυμῆντες) the bondage of Egypt with gorging of stomach (*saturitate* κόρῳ nam, *saturitas* in cibo, *satietas* in cæteris). Then a flock of quails (ορτυγῶν), sent from above, filled the camp. Moreover, on the day after, they who had gone without the camp perceive the ground covered with certain small husks, the appearance of which, after the manner of a coriander seed, was of snowy whiteness, as we frequently see the earth covered with when frosts are laid over it in the winter months. Then the people are told by Moses that this bread was sent them by the favour of God, that every one ought to use only so much as would be sufficient for individuals, according to their number, during one day, having prepared small vessels for that purpose; yet, on the sixth day, because it would not be lawful that it be gathered on the Sabbath, that they may take beforehand a double share. But the people, as always inattentive (disobedient, *parum audiens*) to command, after the manner of the human disposition,

did not bridle their covetousness, providing for the subsequent day also from the *portions* laid up. But the hoarded *shares* fermented into worms with a dreadful stench, whereas the reserves for the Sabbath on the sixth day continued fresh. The Hebrews for forty years used this food, the flavour of which, very nigh to honey, is recorded to be manna by (κατα) name.

Moreover, for testimony of the Heavenly boon, Moses is said to have kept, for time to come, a Gomor (*nearly a gallon and a pint*) full *of it* in a golden vessel.

WAR WITH THE AMALEKITES.

THEN the people, setting forth when they were afflicted with a scarcity of water, with difficulty refrained from the destruction of their leader. Moses then, at command of the Lord (*mandante Domino*, ὡς ἐνετέλλετο θέος) striking a rock with his rod, at a place that is named Horeb, caused a supply of water plentifully. But when they came to Raphidim, the Amalekites desolated (vastabat, ἐδηίζε) the people with inroad-attacks. Moses, having led forth his men to battle, when he had set Joshua over the belligerents, having taken to him Aaron and Hur, to be an overseer of the fight, at the same time for the sake of praying to the Lord, he got up upon the mountain, and when the armies had engaged with doubtful issue, Joshua, victorious by the prayers of Moses, slew the enemies until night.

GOVERNMENT (*Republic*) OF THE HEBREWS.

ABOUT the same time Jethro, father-in-law of Moses, with his daughter Sephora, who, being married to Moses, when her husband set out to Egypt (*from Madia*) had settled at home and with his children. Upon having learnt the achievements that had been performed by Moses, *he* came to him. Moses, by his advice, divided the orders of the people. Setting over them tribunes, centurions, and commanders of decuries, he transmitted to posterity the requisite form of discipline. Jethro returned to his own country (within *Araby* the *Rocky*).

NOTES.

1. A tribune seems to have had the charge of ten centuries, or about 1000—hence called in Greek χίλιαρχος. He chose the officers who commanded the centuries (*centuriones*) from among the common soldiers, by merit. The centurions chose, each, two assistants or lieutenants, called *optiones*, οὖραγοὶ, or *succenturiones*, and two standard-bearers or ensigns (*signiferi* or *vexillarii*). In cavalry each *turma* had three *decuriones* or *commanders of ten*, but he who was first elected commanded the troop called *dux turmæ*. Each decurio had an *optio*, or deputy, under him.

THE LAWS OF GOD.

THEN they came to Mount Sina. There he is counselled by the Lord, that the people, being about to hear the words of God, should be made holy. But when God stood upon the mountain, the air was shaken with mighty clangings of trumpets, and dense clouds were rolled along with repeated thunder-and-lightnings (*crebris cum tonitribus*, πυκνόις συν κεραυνοὶς). But Moses and Aaron stood on the top of the mountain—the people about the bases of the mountain, by reason of the Lord (ἕνεκα τὸυ κυρὶου). Thus the law was passed, varied and full, and was often rehearsed. *On the subject* of which, if any one shall be more inquisitive, let him have recourse to the fountain itself (τηυ πὴγηυ ἄὐτηυ προσερχεσθω). We shall touch lightly upon it briefly (*condense it*, συνεροῦμεν).

"You shall not have", says he, "any strange gods but me. Thou shalt not make unto thyself any false god. Thou shalt not take the name of thy God in vain. Thou shalt do no work on the Sabbath day. Honour thy father and thy mother. Thou shall not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not commit theft. Thou shalt not utter a false witness against thy neighbour. Thou shalt not covet anything of thy neighbour's". Upon these things being spoken by God, when trumpets dinned on every side (πέρικτυπὸιντο), lamps burned (λαμπὰδες ἔκπυρώντο), smoke covered the mountain (καπνος το ὄρος ἔπικαλυπτὸι), the people shuddered through fear, not being able to

endure the words of God, and they demanded from Moses that the Lord might talk with himself only, and repeat the things so heard to the people. Moreover, the commands (*παράγτελματα*) of God to Moses are to this effect:—An Hebrew boy, bought with money, shall serve six years; moreover, his ear shall have a hole pierced in it if he continue in voluntary bondage (*τρὴθησεται ὃι ἄυτομὰτῶς δούλω δίαμενοντι*). Who shall knowingly slay a man, he shall suffer capital punishment. Who, unknowingly, he, as it should be (rite, *πρὲποντῶς*), shall be exiled (exul, i. e., *extra solum*, *φυγάς*, *ἔξερίστος εσέται*. Who shall have assaulted father or mother, and uttered abusive language against them, let him be visited with punishment. If any one shall have sold a Hebrew that he has stolen, he shall be put to death. If any one shall have felled his man-servant or maid-servant, and he shall have died of that blow, he shall become a criminal upon trial (*δἵῶχθησέται κατα δἰκην*). If any one shall have pluckt an eye or a tooth from a bond-servant, the bondman shall be made free in retaliation (*vindictâ*, *ἐκδικήσει*). If a bull shall have killed a man, he shall be stoned to death (*λιθεβοληθησεται*); if the owner, being cognizant of the beast's vicious-propensity, shall not have taken measures *against it*, he also shall be stoned to death, or ransom himself by a sum of money, to how great amount the plaintiff (accusator) shall demand. If a bull have slain a bondman, money in *amount* thirty deniers, shall be counted out to the owner. If any one shall not have covered a dug pit, and a sheep shall have fallen into the pit, he shall give the owner the price of the sheep. If a bull shall have killed another's bull, the brute shall be sold and the owners shall divide the price, they shall also share it dead. But if the owner, knowing the bull's vicious-propensity, shall not have taken measures against it, he shall give a bull. If any one shall have stolen a calf, he shall replace five. If he shall have stolen a sheep, the penalty will be (of) fourfold. If live cattle will be found with (in possession of) a cow stealer (*απηλάτης*), he shall restore twice so much (dúpla, *τὰ δἰπλασιά*). It is lawful that a thief in the night be killed, a *thief* in the day may not (*non licet*). If the cattle of any one shall have eaten up (*in trespass*, *κατάνε-μουται*) the sown crops of another, the owner of the cattle shall restore what was destroyed. If a pledge shall have been lost, he in whose possession it was deposited, shall swear that he had done nothing in guile. The thief detected shall give twice so much; cattle entrusted to one's charge (*commendatum*, *επιτράπεν*), being surprised (killed, *μεσολαβηθέν*) by a beast, shall not be re-

stored. If any one shall have deflowered a maiden not yet espoused, he shall give the girl a dowry and so shall receive her as his wife. If the girl's father shall have refused the marriage, the violator shall give her a dowry. He who sacrifices unto idols, should die. The widow and the orphan should not be oppressed. A poor debtor should not be overpressed, nor usury insisted upon. A poor man's garment should not be taken as a pledge (ἐνέχυρόν, ἀσφάλίσμα). The prince of your people should not be railed at. All the first-born should be offered to God. Flesh caught by a wild beast should not be eaten. Combinations for false witness in any wickedness should not be entered upon. You shall not pass by the straying cattle of your enemy, but you shall bring them back. If you shall find the beast of your enemy to have lain down under its load, you will be obliged to raise it up. You shall not kill an innocent and just man. You shall not justify a wicked man for bribes. Bribes must not be taken. A stranger must be treated kindly. Six days is work to be done; rest is to be taken on the Sabbath. The crops of the seventh year are not to be cut down, but left to the poor and needy. These words of God, nearly, Moses repeated to the people, and he erected an altar of twelve stones at the base of the mountain. And again he got up upon the mountain on which the Lord was standing, having taken with him Nadab, Aaron, and Abihu, and seventy elders. But these not being able to look closely upon the Lord (*intueri*), saw the place, however, on which the Lord was standing, whose wonderful conformation and brightness is recorded to be extraordinary.

NOTES.

1. Sina, *rubus*, Heb.; called by the Turks, Gebel Mousa, i. e., *Moses' Mount;* by Christians, St. Catharine's Hill, as St. Catharine was buried there. It is in Arabia Petræa.

2. *Tuba*, a wind-instrument, straight like our trumpet—used as a signal for the foot. *Cornu*, the horn bent almost round. *Buccina*, similar to the horn commonly used by the watches. *Lituus*, the clarion, bent a little at the end like the augur's staff, or *lituus*—used as a signal for the horse; all of *brass.*

3. Fulminibus, fiunt cum tonitru. *Fulgetrum*, est coruscatio absque tonitru, βροντή.

4. *Vindictâ*—one of the three ways by which slaves were made free, namely, *per censum*, when a slave, with his master's knowledge, or by his order, got his name inserted in the censor's roll: *per vindictam*, when a master, going with his slave in his hand to the prætor or consul, and in the provinces to the proconsul or pro-prætor, said, "I desire that this man be free according to the custom of the Romans", and the prætor, if he approved, putting a rod on the slave's head, pronounced some words, then, after the *vertigo*, or turning him round, and the *alapa*, he was freed. This rod was called *vindicta*, from Vindicius, a slave of the Vitellii, who informed the senate concerning the conspiracy of the sons of Brutus, etc., to restore Tarquin, and who was first freed in this way. *Per testamentum*, when a master gave his slave freedom by his will.

5. *Drachmis*, Greek coins, same as Roman *denarius* (denier), equal to four sesterces ($7\frac{3}{4}d.$).

THE TABERNACLE AND ARK.

But Moses being sent for by the Lord, having entered the inner part of the cloud, which had stood around the Lord, is recorded to have been there forty days and the same number of nights. At which time he was instructed by God about constructing the tabernacle and ark, and the manner of offering sacrifice. Which things, because they appeared very tedious, I did not think fit to be embodied (ἐντεθησομένα, ἐμβλήθησομένα, *inserenda*) in this so abridged a work.

But, Moses tarrying rather long, as spending (*quippe qui duceret*) forty days with the Lord, the people, despairing of his return, constrained Aaron to make images (*to worship*). Then there was made (*exstitit*, ἀνεφαίνετο) the head of a calf out of (EX, not DE, or AB) melted metals. To which, when the people, forgetful of the Lord, had offered victims (*hostias*, not *victimas*), and had given themselves up to wine and their stomach, God looking down upon those things with merited indignation, would have destroyed the reprobate people, had he not been intreated (καταπεπείσμενος, επάχθεις) by Moses. But Moses, returning, (when he had brought down two tables of stone, written by the hand of the Lord, and had caught the people given up to luxury and sacrilege), broke in pieces the tables, supposing *that* nation

to be unworthy to which the law of the Lord was delivered. Many, however, having been rated sharply (increpitis, *καταμεμφθείσι*), he assembled to him the Levites, and these same he commanded to slay the people with drawn swords; by the which onslaught twenty-three thousand men are recorded to have been slain (*taken off*, *ανῃρέθηναι*).

Then Moses pitched his tent without the camp, which, as often as he had entered, a pillar of cloud seemed to stand before the doors, and the Lord spoke to Moses face to face (*coram*, *ενῶπιον*). But Moses demanding to see the Lord in his own proper majesty, it was answered that the form of God could not be seen thoroughly by mortal eyes, yet that it was permitted to see the receding steps of him going before, and the tables which Moses had previously broken in pieces, were made anew. But Moses is recorded to have stayed with the Lord in this interview for forty days. And when he came down from the mountain, bearing the tables before him, his face shone with so great a brightness that the people were not able to look closely at him. But when he was going to repeat the commands of God, he covered the *expression of his* face with a veil (*velamento*, *προκάλυμματι*), and so he spoke to the people in the words of the Lord. On this occasion the construction of the tabernacle and its inner parts is told over. Which, being completed, the cloud parted from above, and so overshadowed the pavilion as to shut out Moses himself from the approach. These are nearly the things that are comprised (*hæc fere continentur*) in the two books, Genesis and Leviticus.

NOTES.

1. *Super* relates to what is above, over. *Supra*, to what is laid under, below.

2. *Apud* means "with", or "at the house of", or "among". *Cum*, "in company with". *Inter* means "among, in the number of"; opposed to it, *apud* means "at", "with", "in the writings of", "in the minds of", or "opinion of", "in the customs of".

3. *Victimæ* pro victis. HOSTIÆ pro superandis.

4. *Duastabulas*, as half the Decalogue enjoins our duty towards God; the other half, our duty towards our neighbour.

5. *Coram*—"face to face", *i. e.*, in a most familiar manner.

Though, as we learn from this chapter, Moses could *not see the face of the Lord.* *Coram*, magis ad personas pertinet. *Palam*, ad omnia. *Coram*, ἐνῶπιον, proximitatem etiam. *Ante*, potest esse longe, "before and behind", opposed to *post.*

6. REFECTÆ, in Deuteronomy, α δευτερος and νομος.

7. *Facies*, ipsa oris species. *Vultus*, voluntas quæ pro motu animi in *facie* ostenditur.

PRIESTS, SACRIFICES, AND FESTIVAL DAYS.

THEN follows the book (Leviticus) relating to the sons of Levi, and the Levitican law, in which instructions for (of) sacrificing are handed down; then are also added the commandments of the law passed formerly; all full of instructions for the priests. Which, if any one shall like to know thoroughly, he shall take them more perfectly from that quarter. For we, attending to the *prescribed* limit of our undertaken work, trace the history alone. So then, the tribe of Levi being set apart for the priesthood, the remaining (*reliquæ*, not *cæteræ*, nor *aliæ*, nor *alteræ*) tribes were reckoned, and they were found *to be* six hundred thousand five hundred and fifty individuals.

CONTINUATION OF THE JOURNEY OF THE HEBREWS.

WHEN then (ergo, ἐργῶ, ἄρα) the people used the food of manna, as we mentioned above, ungrateful, as always, in so many and so great benefits of God, they longed for the worthless dainties (viands) to which they had been accustomed in Egypt. Then the Lord brought into the camp a vast number of quails (ὀρτυγων, *coturnīcum*) which, when they greedily snatched up, they died, after the flesh was applied (reached) to their outer lips, and great was the mortality that day in the camp, so that twenty-three thousand men are recorded to have been cut off (*periisse*, απόλυθηναι), so the people were punished by that which they longed for. Then the company was moved forward (*pro*, for porro-

motum, προηγμενον), and came unto Pharan, and Moses being informed by the Lord that the country was close at hand, the possession of which the Lord had promised them. Spies having been sent into it, word is brought back that the country was prosperous (ἐυδαίμονα, ἐυτυχόν) in all abundance, but that the nations were strong, and the towns secured by huge (ευμεγεθέσι, πελώριοις) walls. The which, when it became known to the people, a great dread (*formido*, a constant fear, φόβος, δέος) had seized upon the minds of all, and they came (*ventum est* ab illis, ἦκον, παρεγένοντο) to such a pitch of the evil that, despising the authority of Moses, they set about to appoint a leader for themselves, under whose conduct they might return into Egypt. Then Joshua and Caleb, who had been among the (observers) spies upon the land, having rent their garments, with tears implored the people not to give credence to those spies that brought back frightful *accounts*, that they themselves also were along with them, that they discovered nothing to be dreaded in that country (soil), that they ought to depend upon the promises of God, that the enemies would be rather their spoil than their destruction. But the unsubdued nation, feebly relying upon sound counsels, were propelled to their own destruction. By which circumstances, the Lord being provoked, exposed a portion of the people to be cut off by the enemy.

The spies being slain for the intimidation of the populace, their obstinate disobedience followed (of those) on the part of those who, with Dathan and Abiran, their leaders, attempted to raise themselves up against Moses and Aaron; but the earth, by its opening, swallowed them up alive. And not long after (*nec multo post*) there arose a mutiny (στασίς) against Moses and Aaron, so that they burst into the tent, which it was impious, except for the priests, to enter. Then indeed death set upon them by large bodies (*catervatim grassata est*, ἴλαδον εφῶρμησε), and they would all have perished in an instant, had not the Lord, propitiated by the prayers of Moses, turned away the destruction. However, the number of those taken off was seven hundred and fourteen thousand. And not long after, by reason of a scarcity of water, as frequently already, a mutiny of the people arose. Then Moses, instructed by the Lord to strike (ut feriret) a rock with his rod, by an essay familiar to him, for as much as he had done that previously already, struck the rock once and again, and so the water issued forth. In the which, indeed, Moses is mentioned to *have been* censured by the Lord because he brought out the water, not but by a repeated stroke, through want of faith.

Finally, for this offence he entered not the land promised to him, as I shall show farther down.

Therefore, Moses advancing from that place, when he was preparing to lead forth his company by Edom, having sent ambassadors, demanded the privilege of passage, thinking that, through right of consanguinity, he (the king) would refrain from war, for that people were descendants of Esau. But the king, making light of the petitioners (*supplicés*, ἱκετας), refused them a passage, being prepared to dispute it by arms. Then Moses turned his route towards Mount Hor, withholding himself from the prohibited way, that he might supply no occasion for war between kinsmen. In that progress also he destroyed the king of the nation of Canaanites; he overthrew Sehon also, king of the Amorites, and made himself master of the towns of all of them. He overcame, also, the kings Basan and Balac, and erected his camp (εμεχανᾶτο τὴν παρεμβολην, not στρατο πεδον here) not far from Jericho. Then he fought against the Madianites, and they were vanquished and subdued.

DEATH OF MOSES.

Moses died when he had ruled over the people in the wilderness forty years. But the Hebrews are recorded to have been so long a time in the wilderness, for this reason, until all might die who had not believed in the words of God. For, excepting Joshua and Caleb, no one over twenty years of age that set out from Egypt, crossed the Jordan.

That Moses himself would see the promised land only, and not touch it, is imputed to his transgression; because, at that time in which he was commanded to strike the rock (Horeb), and bring out water, after so many trials of his powers (δυναμεῶν, not ἰσχύῶν, nor αρέτης here), he doubted. Moreover, he died in the hundred and twentieth year of his age. With respect to the place of his burial, it has not been ascertained.

JOSHUA.

Upon the death of Moses, the administration of affairs was with Joshua the son of Nave. For Moses had appointed him

successor to himself—a man most like him in his eminent qualities (ἀρεταίς, *virtutibus*). But, in the outset of his undertaken authority, having sent messengers through the camp, he informs the people that they should prepare corn, and declares aloud his journey within the next three days. But the Jordan, a most rapid river, prevented a passage, because there was neither a supply of ships according to the requirements, nor could the river be forded, which was then hurried along in full channel. Therefore he orders the ark to be carried before by the priests, and orders the same to stand against the stream (*with their faces to the stream*). The which being done, Jordan is recorded *to have been* parted *in two*, so were the forces led across through (over) dry *ground*.

There was in those parts a town named Jericho, secured by very strong walls not practicable to siege (*expugnationi*, πολιορκησει) nor to blockade (*obsidioni*, περίκαθησει). But Joshua having attacked the city with the Lord, not with arms or with strength, orders the ark of God to be carried around the walls, and the priests to go before the ark and to sound the trumpet. But when the ark was seven times carried round, the walls and towers fell down, the town was plundered and burned. Then Joshua is recorded the Lord *to have worshipped*.

Then the army was led against Hai, and an ambuscade having been placed behind the city, Joshua pretending fear, turned his back (upon) to the enemy. The which being seen, they that were in the town pressed upon them by the open gates. Thus they that had been in ambush took the emptied city, and all were slaughtered without the escape of any one. The king was captured and visited with the highest punishment.

The which when it was learned by the kings of the neighbouring nations, they band together in war to turn out the Hebrews by arms. But the Gabaonites, a strong nation, from a wealthy city, voluntarily surrendered themselves to the Hebrews, promising that they would submit to orders (*jussa facturos*), and they were taken into friendly protection (*fidem*); it was commanded them that they draw fuel (wood) and *fetch* (by *Zeugma*) water. But their surrender had excited anger in the kings of the nearest nations. And so having advanced their forces, they surround their town named Gabaoth with a blockade. Therefore the townspeople, in their straitened circumstances, send messengers to Joshua that he come to their aid as they were blocked up. So having hastened his journey, he surprised them, not expecting him, and many thousands of the enemy were cut off to utter destruction. When the day failed them while they slaughtered, and the night

seemed likely to be a protection to the vanquished, the Hebrew commander, through the merit of faith, turned away the night, the day continued on; so there was no escape to the enemy. Five captured kings were put to death. By the same onset, neighbouring cities also were added to his authority, and their kings were slain. But because it was not our purpose to trace all these things regularly, while we attend to conciseness, we have taken care that this only be registered, that twenty-nine were reduced under the rule of the Hebrews, whose country was divided man by man (viritim, *κατ ἀνδρας*) through the eleven tribes. For there was no share (*μερίς*) given to the Levites, who were taken into the priesthood, to the end that (*quo*, *οπῶς*) they might freely serve God.

Therefore, as I said above, upon the country that was taken in war (*captivo*) being divided between the tribes, the Hebrews were enjoying the utmost peace, the neighbours being terrified in war, renowned by so many victories, no one daring to tamper with them by hostilities (*armies*). In the same space Joshua died in the hundred and tenth year of his age. However, with respect to the time of his government, I do not determine (*definio*, *διόριζῶ*). The popular impression, however, is, that he commanded the Hebrews twenty-seven years, which, if it be so, there were three thousand eight hundred and eighty-four years from the beginning of the world unto his death.

NOTES.

1. *Tuba*, straight, used by the foot, a wind instrument of brass, called in Greek *σαλπιγξ*. *Lituus*, bent a little at the end like the augural lituus; used by the horse. *Buccina*, bent quite round; used by the watches; all three of brass and wind instruments.

2. *Jordanis*, *flumen validissimum*, rises by two springs called *Jor* and *Dan*, from the base of Mount Libanus, in Syria, runs southward into lake Genesareth (also lake Chinneroth, sea of Tiberias, and Sea of Galilee), which it passes, and at length disappears in the Dead Sea.

ADMINISTRATION OF (BY?) JUDGES.

Upon the death of Joshua, the people lived without a leader. But when war was to be carried on against the king of the Canaanites, Judah was taken as general of (in) the war. Under his conduct matters were achieved successfully; there was the greatest quiet at home and abroad, the people had the command, the nations being either subdued or received on surrender. Then, unmindful of their principles and system of discipline, as is always usual to happen in prosperity, they took wives (*marriages*, *matrimonia*, here used in the sense of *contubernia*, συζύγια, not γάμοι) from the vanquished *nations*. And gradually they began to acquire alien principles, and presently to sacrifice to false gods after a profane fashion (*ritual*), so destructive is all alliance with aliens! Which *things* God, foreseeing long before, had taught the Hebrews, by a salutary answer, that they should consign the vanquished nations to utter destruction (*internecioni*, πανολέθριᾳ), but the populace (people), desirous of mastering, preferred to rule the vanquished with destruction (to *themselves*, *sua* being omitted, or *partial* destruction *to the vanquished*).

OTHONIEL.

Therefore, when having left God (*lit. God being left*), they worshipped idols, being abandoned by Heavenly help, vanquished and subdued by the king of Diarbeck (called by Arabs, *Al Gezirah*), they suffered captivity seven years, until restored to freedom under the conduct of Othoniel, they enjoyed (*became masters of*) the government for forty years.

ADON.

And, again being corrupted by the evil of a long peace, they sacrificed to idols, and anon punishment fell upon the transgressors. For, being subdued by Eglon, king of the Moabites, they were eighteen years in bondage, until, by the inspiration of God, Adon

slew, by a stratagem, the king of the enemy, and having brought together an extemporaneous (*tumultuario*, *αὐτοσχέδιω*) army, he asserted freedom by arms. The same governed the Hebrews, in peace, for forty years.

SEMIGAR.

SEMIGAR succeeded him; and he, engaging against the alien tribes (Philistines), fought a battle successful in its issue.

BARAC AND DEBORAH.

AND again, the king of the Canaanites, named Jabin, brough under his yoke the Hebrews running after false gods, and employed a most severe tyranny against them for twenty years, until the woman Deborah restored the former condition *of things*. Insomuch was there no hope in their leaders, that they were protected by female aid. Although this prefiguration, by whose help the captivity was turned away, may have been sent before as a type of the Church. Under this leader, or Judge, were the Hebrews forty years.

NOTES.

1. *Subjugavit*—*ὑπεκείρει*—a *sub* et jugum—refers to the *jugum ignominiosum*, under which L. Q. Cincinnatus, when taken from the plough and made dictator, obliged the conquered enemy to pass. It consisted of two beams upright and one across, and was made to assimilate the *yoke* used with the ploughing cattle.

2. Deborah (*apis*), in Hebrew, means the *Bee*, *i. e.*, she stings the enemy, and brought honey to her friends.

3. FORMA est naturæ bonum—*figura* artis opus est.

GEDEON.

AND again, for their sins being given over to the Madianites, being held under rigid rule and galled by the evil of bondage, they implored Heavenly help. So, always in prosperity, unmindful of the benefits of Heaven, they offered their prayers to false gods; in adversity, to God. Whence, I am wont to reflect in my mind upon a people bound by so many kind favours of God, restrained by so many misfortunes when they did wrong, and having experienced the compassion and strictness of God, by no means corrected, and when they always received pardon for their error, that they had sinned always after the pardon, it can seem in nought (*nihil*, κατὰ) wonderful that Christ was not received by them, when now, from the very beginning (*jam inde ab initio*) they are caught in rebellion against the Lord. And it is more wonderful that when they always sinned (*illis semper peccantibus*), the mercifulness of God never failed, if at any time they implored it.

So then, when the Madianites mastered them, as we stated above, being turned to the Lord, importuning his wonted mercy, they obtained it.

There was among the Hebrews a person (*quidam*) named Gedeon, a man just and dear to the Lord, and beloved. An angel stood by him as he returned from the harvest field. "The Lord", says he, "powerful in excellence, be with thee". But he, in a low voice, groaned out, that the Lord was not in him, for so much as that bondage crushed down the people, and he called to mind (*recordabatur*, ανεμίμνησκετό) the excellence of the Lord, who had led them forth from the land of Egypt. Then the angel says, "Away (*vade*), in this spirit in which thou hast spoken, and rescue the people out of bondage". But he denied that he (*se*) the strength of his people being now broken down, when he himself was the least, would undertake so great a responsibility (ONUS, φορτὶον, αχθος). The angel persisted on the other hand, that he ought not doubt that what the Lord spake could be done.

So then, having performed a sacrifice, and having thrown down an altar on which the Madianites had offered sacred rites (ἱερςῶκει καθῶσωκεί) to the idol of Baal, setting out to his people, he pitched his camp over against the camp of the enemy (*contulit castra castris*, συνέφορέι στροτοπεδον στρατοπεδῶ). But the people (*gens*) of Amalech had also united themselves to the Madianites. Gedeon

indeed had raised an army not more than to *the number of* thirty-two thousand. But ere he engaged, God spoke to him *to the effect* that this number was more (*over-adequate, nimium,* περισσόν) than he would wish to lead forth to battle—that the Hebrews, conformably to their wonted treachery, would ascribe the result of the fight, not to God, but to their own bravery; he should, therefore, give to those wishing it, the power (*facultatem,* ἐξουσιάν) of going off. The which, when it was spread abroad among the people, twenty-two thousand withdrew from the camp. But of the ten thousand which had staid behind, being instructed by the Lord, he retained no more than three hundred. The rest he sent away from the service (armis, στρατεία). So having entered the enemy's camp at the mid-watch, all being commanded to sound the trumpet, he communicated a great terror, nor had any one the courage of opposing, when they slipped away by a disgraceful flight where each one could. But when the Hebrews met them in every direction, they slaughter them flying every where. Gedeon having pursued the kings beyond Jordan, consigned them, when seized, to a violent death (*neci*). In that flight one hundred and twenty thousand of the enemies were slain, fifteen thousand are given up. Then, to be chief of the people was conferred upon Gedeon with the approbation of all. Which he, setting at nought, preferred to live in equal right (*privileges, jure, jusaa,* ζεύς) with his countrymen, rather than to rule over his *people.* So then the captivity which had kept down the people for seven years, being turned aside, there was peace for forty years.

NOTES.

Baal, so often mentioned in Old and New Testament, means *Lord* in the Hebrew. He was an Assyrian god—means *sun* in the Assyrian language; also in the Phœnician and in the Irish, where, on the 1st of May, the inhabitants used to put out all the fire, and re-light, or kindle, by the light of the *sun* (their god, *Baal*), hence Baal, or Bioul *thinna, i. e.,* the fire of Baal. He was first king of Babylon, and first man ever made a god by his son Ninus, who set up his image at Dura, and in it a demon that gave out answers. The Phœnicians and Sidonians worshipped him as Baal, or *Beel semen,* i. e., *cœli dominus.*

He was ancestor of Dido, who says of him—"*Genitor tum Belus opiniam vastabat cyprum*".

ABIMELECH.

But upon the death of Gedeon (or "*now Gedeon having died*"), his son Abimelech seized upon the sceptre (*regnum* βασιλέιον) having slain his brothers, all the worst approving ("*men* that were needy, and vagabonds"—*Judg.*, ix. 4), and the chief men of the Sichimites, most especially rendering him their aid. And having been harassed by civil dissensions, when he pressed his subjects in war, having attempted to take by storm a certain stronghold (*castle*) into which the fugitives had betaken themselves after they had lost the town, whilst he enters rather incautiously he lost his life, being struck by a woman with a stone, when he had held the government three years.

THOLA.

Thola, who enjoyed the throne two and twenty years, succeeded him.

JAIR.

After him was Jair. When he had held the government impartially twenty two years, the people, having quitted the Lord, gave themselves over to false gods. And for, that the Israelites were subdued by the alien tribes and the Ammonites, and they were two and twenty years under the rule of these *people.*

JEPTHA.

At which time a divine answer was forsooth given to them, imploring the Lord *that* they should rather call upon their idols; that he whould no further vouchsafe commiseration to the ungrateful.

But they acknowledged their fault with tears, and prayed for pardon, and having cast away their false gods, earnestly beseeching God, they obtained compassion although refused. So then under conduct of Jeptha, they assemble numerously to assert their freedom by arms, ambassadors being first sent to King Ammon, *to the effect* that he would withhold himself from war, content with his own limits: but he, not declining the battle, put his army into array (*aciem instruxit*, κατεσκεναζε το ταγμα). Then Jeptha, ere the signal of (for) the fight was given, is said to have vowed that he who would have first met him at his return, would be given a victim to God, if he (Jeptha) would have fought with success. So the enemy having been conquered, when he was returning home, his daughter, who had gone forth rejoicing with tabers and dances to welcome (*exceptura*) her victorious father, met him. Then Jeptha, appalled with grief, having rent his garments, declares to his daughter the obligations of his vow. But she with a firmness not womanlike (*feminea* θηλυκή (not refusing) ουκ ανάνευουσα *non recusans*) to die, asked two months only as the limit of her life (i. e. for *quitting* the *world and its hollowness*, and *devoting herself* to God,) that she might first see her companions, which *things* being completed, she returned voluntarily (*ultro* ἑκουσίως, αὐτοματὴν, αὐθαιρέτως) to her father, and made good his vow to the Lord. (*By devoting herself to the exclusive service of God in mortification and self abasement*). Jeptha held the government six years.

ESEBON.

Esebon succeeded him, and having accomplished his rule, in calm circumstances he died seven years after (*in the seventh year*).

AHIALON AND ABDON.

And after him Ahialon of Zabulon (A. D. 2819), for ten years, and likewise Abdon eight years, being masters of the government, achieved nothing in that time of peace, that history might speak of.

SAMSON.

THE Israelites being again turned to false gods, being forsaken by divine protection, being put under subjection to the alien tribes (*Philistines*), underwent punishments for their treachery through forty years of captivity (αἰκμαλῶσιας). At that period Samson is set down (*traditur*, παραδίδοται) as born. His mother, a long time childless, saw an angel, and it was told her that she should abstain from wine and *other* inebriating drink (*sicera* σίκερᾶ) and unclean things, that it would happen she would give birth to a son an asserter of freedom and avenger against enemies. So the woman, having brought forth a male child, gave him ("indidit, ἐντεθείκε) the name Samson. He with his head untrimmed (*as a Nazarite*), is recorded to have been of amazing great strength (*virtute* here ἰσχυς not so much ἀρετη nor δυναμις) so as to tear to pieces with his hands a lion meeting him on the way. He had a wife from the Philistines, who when in the absence of her husband, she had agreed to a marriage with another *man*, through resentment of his wife being taken from him, he designed destruction for the tribe. Depending upon the Lord and his strength, he openly visited *them when* conquerors with discomfiture; for as much as having caught three hundred foxes, (*vulpibus* αλῶπηξί), he tied lightning brands to their tails and sent them into the manors of the enemies. But the crops being then ripe, as it chanced (*forte*, πᾰρὰ τὸ φέρειν τυχὸν) there was an easy conflagration, and the vineyards and olive trees were burnt up. By this heavy destruction of the Philistines he seemed *to have* avenged the wrong of his wife being abducted. With resentment at which the Philistines being provoked, destroyed by fire along with her house and her father, the woman, the cause of so great misfortune. But Samson deeming himself inadequately redressed, ceased not to press upon the unholy tribe with all molestations. Then the Jews, being constrained *to it*, delivered him up bound to the Allophyli (Philistines, alien tribes). But being given up, having burst his bonds (*his bonds being burst*), having seized a bone of an ass, the which weapon chance had given, he overthrew a thousand of the enemies. But the heat getting oppressive when he had been afflicted with thirst, having called upon the Lord, water streamed from the bone that he held in his hand. At that point of time Samson was in authority over the Hebrews (*as Judge*) the Allophyli being subdued by his valour (*virtute*, αρέτη). Therefore lying in wait for his life, and not (*nec*

οὐτε) daring openly to attack him, they corrupt with a sum of money (*bribe*) his wife (Dalilah), that he had afterwards taken (*married*), that she might betray *to them* the "great strength" (*virtutem*, ισχυν) of her husband. She having beset him with womanish cajoling (θῶπευματι, κόλακεία, *blandimento*), prevailed upon him, a long time parrying and much hesitating, to discover that his superiority existed in the hair of his head.

Presently, lying in ambush for him asleep, she took away his hair, and so delivered him up to the alien tribes; for they had been unable to seize him, when often previously delivered up. Then having digged out his eyes, they flung him bound with fetters into prison; but within a limit of time (*it is recorded*) that the cut hair grew and with it his "great strength" had begun to return. And now Samson, aware of his recovered strength, awaited only an opportunity of merited revenge. It belonged to a custom (it was of a custom) with the Allophyli, when they celebrated their holidays, to bring out Samson as for public exhibition, triumphing over the captive. So one day when they had given a public solemn entertainment in honour of their idol (Dagon), they order Samson to be shown. But the temple in which the entire people and all the chiefs of the Allophyli were feasting was sustained by two pillars of amazing great size. Having been led forth, Sampson is set standing between the pillars. Then having seized his opportunity, having first implored the Lord, he pulled asunder (*disjecit*) the pillars, and the whole multitude (turba a θορυβός) crushed by the fall of the house, himself likewise along with the enemies, lay down, not unavenged, when he had governed the Hebrews twenty years.

Simmichar, of whom the Scripture has transmitted nothing more, succeeded him; for I have discovered the end of his government, and I learn that the people were without a leader. Therefore, when there was a civil war against the tribe of Benjamin, Judah was chosen the temporary leader of the war.

But most who have written of those times have set down a single year for his rule. So most *historians* have passed him by so as to annex Heli the priest after Samson. We shall leave that matter undecided, as inadequately ascertained. About those times a civil war, as we said, had blazed out. But the cause of this commotion was: a (*quidam*) Levite journeying with his wife, constrained by the falling night, had withdrawn *to rest* in the town Gabah, which was inhabited by Benjamites. When an old man had kindly received them in hospitality, young men from the town surrounded the stranger, and design violence for

him. Being much reproved by the old man, they ravished his wife (*rapuerunt βε βιακάσι*). But she, through the outrage of the youths or through shame, I do not determine, upon having seen her husband, breathed out her life. Then the Levite sent through the twelve tribes her limbs, cut asunder into twelve parts, to the end that odium of the deed might more readily arouse them all. The which when it was heard by all, the remaining eleven tribes confederate against Benjamin. Judah, as we said, was commander (in) to this war. But in two battles they fought unsuccessfully; in the third at last the Benjamites were conquered, and cut off to utter ruin. So the crime of a few was punished by public destruction.

The books of the Kings follow: but to me tracing the order of the years and the course of the times, the history appears insufficiently continued: for whereas Simmichar was after Samson, and a little after history sets down that the people went on (*egisse*) without Judges. Heli is also mentioned in the Books of the Kings to have been priest, where the Scripture has by no means handed down how many years there have been between Heli and Samson, I see that there is some intermediate time which is doubtful.

But since the day of the death of Joshua, along to that time in which Samson died, there are nine-and-forty-years reckoned, but four thousand three hundred and three from the beginning of the world. Although I am aware that the others disagree with this computation of mine, yet I am sensible that I have developed the concealed order of the years, until I have fallen upon those times on the subject of which I acknowledge myself to be in doubt.

Now I shall prosecute the rest.

NOTES.

1. *Sicera*, σικερα indeclin. *Strong drink*, not wine, used by Hebrews, made of corn, fruit, honey, dates, etc., such as *ale, beer;* as *Cerevisia quasi Cererisia a Ceres.*

2. *Intonso capite*—as a Nazarite, from the village of Nazareth, seven miles from Mount Tabor in Galilee, where our Saviour was brought up.

3. *Convenisset*, for the several meanings and governments of this word, see note above, under head *Job*.

4. *Clade*. See note for this word under *Job*.

5. *Palam*. See note, under the head above, "*The Tabernacle and Ark*".

6. *Quo* dolore, in resentment for which, *qui*, *quæ*, *quod*, used with its substantive like the adjectives primus, imus, postremus, summus, etc., in the sense of primus or *imus mons*, not the first or lowest mountain, but the first or lowest part of the mountain.

7. *Osse asini*—"a jawbone, even the jawbone of an ass". *Judges*, xvi.

8. *Pecunia corrupta*—"1100 pieces of silver" (Philistine). *Judges*, xvi. 5.

9. *Accisos crines—capillus* quasi *capitis pilus*, "hair of the head in general", *coma*, "*hair*", generically and figuratively used for other things; as "comæ arborum", "comæ ovium", *crines*, "hair plaited and in tresses, dressed", κρινῶ. *Cæsaries*, man's hair, a *cædendo*.

10. *Justæ ultionis*. See Book of Judges, chapter xvi. Douay note.

11. *Dies festos*. Days among the Romans, whence these expressions are taken, were either dedicated to religious purposes (*dies festi*), or assigned to ordinary business (*dies profesti*). There were some, partly the one and partly the other (*dies intercisi*). On the *dies festi*, sacrifices were performed, feasts and games were celebrated, or there was at least a cessation from business; such days (of cessation) were called *feriæ*, holidays. *Public*, or *private*, *statæ*, *conceptivæ* or *imperativæ*.

12. *Epulum* convivium est—*epulæ* cibi, *epulæ* hominum, *dapes*, a δαις or δαπανη, sunt deorum. Dapes regum, epulæ privatorum.

13. *Haud inultus*, not unavenged. See Douay's note.

HELI.

So then, as I mentioned above, the Hebrews, without a judge, or any leader, lived after their own pleasure. Heli was the priest. Under him (2871) Samuel was born. His father was Elchanah, his mother Anna. She, a long time childless, when she prayed for conception from God, is recorded to have vowed

that if a male child were born, he would be dedicated to the Lord. So she gave up to Heli, the priest, a boy brought into the world (*enixa puerum* υἱον αποτέκουσα). A while after (παραυτίκα), when he had grown to man's estate, the Lord spake to him: he proclaims his wrath against Eli, the priest, by reason of the life of his sons, who had turned the priesthood of their father into lucre, exacting bribes from them that offered sacrifice, although their father is recorded to have generally reproved them. But the over-light rebuke had been insufficient for their instruction. Thereupon, they set forth to oppose (*obviam itum*, εἰς συναντὴσιν πορεύονται) the Philistines rushing into Judæa; but the Hebrews were vanquished, and prepare to renew the battle; they carry forth with them the ark of the Lord into the fight, and with it the sons of the priest go forward, because he himself, very old (*annis gravior*), blind (*luminibus obductis*), had been unable to adequately discharge the duty. But when the ark was brought out into sight of the enemy, being terrified by a certain majesty of the Lord before them (*præsentis*), they were preparing for flight, and having again recovered their firmness, and their spirits being changed, not without the Lord, they engage with their whole strength. The Hebrews were vanquished, the ark is captured, the sons of the priest fall. Heli, upon the intelligence of the misfortune being brought him (καταχθέντι *delato*), astounded, breathed forth his life, when he had discharged the duties of (*administered*) the priesthood for twenty years.

The Philistines, conquerors in that prosperous battle, brought into the temple of Dagon, in their town Azotus, the ark of God, which had come into their power; but the image consecrated to the demon tumbled down when the ark was brought in. And when they had restored the idol to its place, it was torn to pieces on the following night. Then mice having sprung up through the whole country, consigned to death, with harmful gnawings, several thousand persons (hominum). Constrained by which misfortune, the people of Azotus, to avoid the misery, conveyed away to the Gethæans the ark of God; who, when they were visited with like disasters, passed the ark over to a town of the people of Ascalon (now *Scalona*).

These, indeed, having called together the chief men of this nation, had a purpose of (to *restore*) restoring to the Hebrews the ark of the Lord; so, by a resolution of the chief men, and of the augurs, and of the priests, being set upon a wagon, it is sent back with many presents.

This *circumstance* was amazing, that, when they had yoked

cows (*bŏves* fœminas, *βοάς θηλειας*), and had kept their calves behind at home, the cattle bent their course without any guide into Judæa, affection for the offspring left behind them not calling them back. Through the surprising effect of which occurrence, the princes of the Philistines, following the ark up to the confines of the Hebrews, performed a religious duty. But when the Jews saw the ark brought back, they emulously rushed forth from the town of Bethshamis with heartfelt joy (*gaudio*); they hasted, rejoiced exceedingly, gave thanks to the Lord. Presently the Levites, whose business this was, offer a solemn sacrifice to God, and offer those oxen in sacrifice that had brought the ark. But the ark could not be retained in the town that we mentioned above. Therefore by the will of God, they raged everywhere through the whole city. The ark was carried away to the town of Cariathiarin, and was there for twenty years.

NOTES.

1. *Objurgatio* est post turpe factum castigatio. *Monitus* vero est ante commissum.

2. *Dagon*, the great Philistine idol, means in the Hebrew *fish*, also *corn*. He was called in the Greek Ζευς αροτρίος "ἐπειδὴ ἔυρε σῖτον και ἄροτρον".

3. *Azotus*, one of the five cities of the Philistines in Palestine, between Ascalon and Joppa.

4. *Pecus*, *ŏris*, means "cattle in general", whether used for clothing or for food, applicable to all animals. *Setigerum pecus* aligerum, squamiferum. *Pecus*, *ŭdis*, a *πὲκος vellus*, a sheep, *pecudes* ποκαδες. *Jumentum* a juvando, *κήνος*, *ὑποζύγιον*, "cattle used for labour of any kind".

5. *Bethsamis*, i.e., domus *solis*, Ἡελίουπολις oppid. in tribu Judæ ante *Abel* dictum.

6. *Immolavit*—ab in and *mola* ut MACTO a *magis aucto*, which was said of the victim when the fore hairs between the horns (libanina pruna) were cut off, and the victim about to be knocked down.

SAMUEL.

At that period, Samuel, the priest, governed the Hebrews. Matters being undisturbed by war, the people lived in tranquillity. Then after was their peace disturbed by a violent inroad of the Philistines, while all, through consciousness of sin, were quaking with fear.

Samuel having first slain a victim (*hostia* pro superandis, not *victima* pro victis) depending upon the Lord, led out his *people* to battle, and the enemy being overthrown (*fusis*, not *fugatis* here) at the first charge, victory declared at the side of the Hebrews.

MONARCHY OF THE HEBREWS.

But fear of the enemy being removed, in their prosperous and undisturbed circumstances, under depraved counsels, after the manner of the populace, to whom *things* present are a *source* of disgust, *things* un-familiar are an *object* of longing, the people eagered after the name of king (ever hateful to almost all free nations), and manifestly not without a sample of madness, they wished preferably (*præoptabat*) to exchange freedom for slavery. Sothen they gather about Samuel in great numbers that he might appoint them a king, because that he himself had now waxed senile. But he calmly, in wholesome language, *would fain* turn (*historic infinitive*) the commonalty (*plebem* πληθος, ὄχλος, δῆμος,) *quæ excludit equites et patricios, dum* Populus *omnes ordines continet*) from there wild will, he explained the tyranny of kings and their haughty commands, he eulogised freedom, and expressed abhorrence of slavery. Ultimately he threatened them with the divine wrath, forasmuch as persons (*homines* not, *viri*) depraved in intelligence (*mente*, not *animo*) having God their king, importunately clamoured for a king to themselves from among men (*mankind*, used generically, as opposed to God).

These things and other things of the same character, being spoken with no effect, when the people persisted in their purpose, he referred the matter to (*consuluit*) the Lord. Who being enraged at the senselessness (*ανοήσια* ve (i. e. sine) cordia) of the infatuated nation, answered that nothing should be refused to them putting requests in opposition to him.

SAUL.

So then (*igitur* id agitur) Saul, being first anointed by Samuel with the priestly chrism, was (appointed) created king.

He, of the tribe of Benjamin whose father was Cis (*Cis patre ortus* γεγονῶς not γενηθεὶς see note on *ortus*, *natus* and *oriundus*) was unassuming in spirit, of surpassing personal beauty, so that the nobility of his figure worthily agreed with his royal rank. But at the outset of his reign some portion of the people had revolted from him, refusing to submit to his government, and had united themselves to the Ammonites. However, Saul took vengeance on them vigorously, and the enemies were vanquished and pardon was given to the Hebrews. Then Saul is recorded to be anointed for the second time by Samuel.

After that a desperate war broke out by means of a violent inroad of the Philistines. Saul had pitched upon Galgal as the position for the army to rendezvous. And when for seven days he had awaited Samuel, that sacrifice might be offered to the Lord, he making a long coming (*tardante* βραδύνοντι, ἀναβαλλοντι) while the people were falling away, the king by an unlawful anticipation (προληψις) offered an holocaust to represent (*in vicem*) the priest; and being much reproved by Samuel, he confessed his sin by a late penance. Great fear (*metus*), therefore, from the king's misconduct had seized upon the entire army. The camp of the enemy pitched not far away manifested immediate danger, nor had any one the courage to go forth to battle. Several had repaired to holes and concealments. For besides the pusillanimity of their feelings, which deemed the Lord estranged from them by the king's misdeed, the army was in the greatest need of weapons, so that, except Saul and Jonathan his son, no one may be set down to have a sword or a spear. For the Philistines, conquerors in the former war, had deprived the Hebrews of the benefit *of them*, nor had any one a possibility of fabricating a warlike weapon or country implement. So then Jonathan having entered the enemy's camp with a bold design, his armour-bearer alone being his attendant, having slain nearly twenty of the enemy, had struck with dismay the whole army throughout. Then, indeed, being turned to flight by the inspiration of God, they neither attended to orders nor kept in their ranks, they looked upon all succour as in their feet. Which when Saul perceived, having instantly led forth his men, pursuing the fugitives he gained the victory. On that day the king is

reported to have issued a proclamation that no one should take food without having the enemies despatched. But Jonathan, unapprised of the prohibition, upon finding a honeycomb, his spear being dipt in it (*having dipt his spear in it*), had tasted the honey. Which when, as from the Lord's wrath, it was discovered by the king, he ordered his son to be capitally punished. But he was rescued from destruction by the aid of the people. At that STORMY period (*tempestate*, καιρῷ not χρόνῳ) Samuel, instructed by the Lord, made a visit to the king, bidding him in the Lord's words to make war on the tribe of Amalech, which had formerly prevented the Hebrews from passing on their way out of Egypt, a prohibition being added that he would covet nought out of the spoils of the vanquished: so the army *was* led into the territories of the enemies, the king was captured, the nation subdued. Saul, overcome by the greatness of the spoil, not remembering the Heavenly command, orders the *things* taken to be saved and brought off. At which transaction God being disobliged, communicates *by words* to Samuel that he repented of his having made (*pœnitere se quod constituerit*) Saul king. The priest recapitulates the communication to the king.

NOTES.

1. METUS implies evil imminent and seemingly intolerable. TIMOR, generic term—simple emotion of *fear*, without reference to the magnitude of the evil. *Pavor*, stupefying and prostrating fear. *Formido*—"constant fear". *Vereri*, "reverential fear".

2. *Imbecilitas*, ab *in*, and *baculus*, leans on a stick, ἀσθενὲια ἀδνναμὶα.

3. *Viginti fere interemptis* would be literally "almost twenty being slain". But the spirit of the English requires to enunciate it, "having slain twenty", and so merge the participial phrase into the nominative case to the verb.

4. *Universus*.—"whole throughout", sine exceptione, *i.e.*, omnis ad *unum versus*, ἅπας, σύμπας, καθὸλικός. *Integer*—"whole without division". *Totus*—"whole without subtraction". *Omnis*—"whole as to details or particulars".

5. *Morte affici filium jussit*—Difference in the case of Manlius Torquatus. That the heathens permitted the brave, estimable youth to be put to death, the people of God did not. Much the same may be predicated of Idomeneus and Brutus; so also, in a heathenized period of bloodshed and invasion, it may be recorded

of "the Warden of Galway", and also of Dermod Mohr MacCarthy, who are said to have murdered their eldest sons, under the prestige of petty kingly and patriarchal authority. Different entirely was the case of Abraham and Isaac dealing with faith in Jehovah.

DAVID.

Soon after, being instructed by the Lord, he anoints David with the royal chrism, though still a little boy, living under his father, shepherd of the sheep, accustomed frequently to play on the harp; on account of which, being taken afterwards by Saul, he was kept among the king's pages. At which season, the Philistines and Hebrews raging furiously in war, when the battalia had stood in opposition (*ex adverso*), Goliath, one (*quidam*) of the Philistines, a man of amazing large size and great strength, having passed without the ranks of his people, throwing out, in insolent words, revilings against his enemies, provoked to single combat. Then the king promised *religiously* (*despondit*, not *policeor* or *promitto*) great rewards and his daughter in marriage (*the marriage of his daughter*), if any one would have brought back the spoils of the challenger. But no one of so great a host dared to attempt (*to encounter him*). So, then, David, though still a boy, presented himself to the combat; and, having flung away *from him* the arms by which his feeble time of life was over-burdened (*ἐβαρύνθη*), having taken only a twig and five stones, he advanced to the battle, and, at the first blow, by a stone discharged from his sling, he overthrew the Philistine, he took away the head and spoils of him vanquished, he afterwards bestowed his sword on the temple. Moreover, all the Philistines being turned to rout, surrendered the victory. But when they returned from the battle, the popularity so great about David, had kindled up the envy of the king; yet, dreading to take off with odium and destruction one so dear to all, he determined, under pretence of honour (*doing him honour*), to expose him to dangers. And, in the first place, he had him made tribune (*χιλίαρχον*, commanding 1,000), that he might attend to the concerns of war. Then, whereas he had affianced to him his daughter, he broke faith (*falsified himself*), and gave her over to another. Presently, the king's younger daughter, named Michol, had begun to be inflamed with a passion for David. Therefore, he proposes

terms of marriage of her to this effect, that if David would have slain a hundred of the enemy, the royal maiden would become his in marriage (*would cede to his marriage*).

For he expected that the young man (*juvenem*, not now *adolescentem*), adventuring dangerous *exploits*, would easily lose his life. But it turned out far otherwise than he had regarded as authentic fact. For, as he had offered, David strenuously (*impigre*, αοκνῶς) slew a hundred of the Philistines, and so received the king's daughter in marriage. The hatred of the king increased against him from day to day (*indies* καθ ἕκαστην ἡμεραν implies increase or diminution, not as *quotidie*, "on every day"), envy goading him on, because the wicked always rail at the good. So then he commanded his servants, and Jonathan, his son, that they prepare plots against his life; but David had been dear and beloved to Jonathan now on from the very beginning. So then the king, rebuked by his son, quashed the bloody mandate. But the wicked are not (*continue not*) a long time good. For, when Saul was troubled with a spirit of error, and David stood by him, soothing him in his suffering with the harp, he attempted to strike him with a spear, (*which would happen*) had not the other (*ille*) quickly avoided the deadly blow. Thenceforth now he designed a violent death for him, not secretly but openly. Nor did David trust himself to the king any more.

And first, in his flight, he betook himself to Samuel, then to Abimelech; ultimately he fled for refuge to the king of Moab. Presently, advised by the prophet Gad, returning into the land of Judah, he incurred danger to his life. At that *remarkable* period, Saul slew the priest Abimelech because he had sheltered David; and when none of the king's servants dared to lay hands on the priest, Doeg the Syrian (*a pampered stranger*) discharged the bloody office. After that David fled to (*sought*) the wilderness, thither also Saul pursued him; but he designed in vain (*inani operā*, φρουδὴν) the destruction of him whom the Lord protected. There was in the wilderness a cavern (Abdullam) opening with a wide recess (*inside*). David had flung himself into the inner parts of this. Saul, not knowing of it, had withdrawn *for rest* in the foremost entrance of the cavern, in order to refresh his body; and there seized with sleep, he was taking repose, which when David became conscious of, when all were counselling him to avail himself of the favourable advantage, he forbore the destruction of the king; yet he took away with him his mantle.

Presently, having gone forth, he spoke to the king behind in a safe place from a distance, recounting his own good deeds towards

him, so as to have often exposed his life to perils for his throne, and that at last he had been unwilling to kill him delivered into his hands (*sibi*) at the present time. In return to this, he acknowledged his fault, he prayed for pardon, he shed tears, he eulogized the filial love of David, he blamed his own wickedness, addressing him king and son. So great was the change made from that arrogant spirit! You might suppose that he will attempt nothing further against his son-in-law. But David, who had thoroughly tried and known that disposition of evil (*who had that disposition of evil tried and known through and through*), impressed (*thinking it a fact*) that no trust should be put in the king, kept confining himself (*se continebat*) within the wilderness. Saul, frantic (*vecors animi*) because he had no possibility of seizing upon his son-in-law, gave his daughter Michol, *who was* married to David, as we stated above, to one Phaltim in wedlock. David fled for protection to the Philistines.

At that *troublesome* period Samuel completed his appointed time. Saul, upon the Philistines waging war, referred his case to the Lord (*Dominum consuluit*), and no answer was given him back. Then he consulted Samuel, being commanded to appear (*evocatum*) by means of a woman (*witch of Endor*), whose inner parts (*viscera*) a spirit of deception had filled. And he was told by him (*Samuel*) that he should fall in battle next day, vanquished, along with his sons, by the Philistines. So then, the Philistines having pitched their camp on hostile ground next day, draw up their army for battle; David, however, being sent away from the camp, because they had believed that he would not be faithful against his own *people*. But, when the battle was engaged, the Hebrews were overthrown—the sons of the king fall; Saul, having tumbled from his horse, fell upon his sword, that he might not come alive into the power of the enemies.

Of the duration of his government we have not ascertained the certainties, except that in *the Acts of the Apostles* he is stated to have reigned forty years. Although I have my mind impressed (*I judge from the facts, arbitror ab* arbiter) as well as from Paul, whose declaration that one is stated *to be*, that the years of Samuel also were reckoned in the age of that king (Saul). Yet several who have written on the times have set down that he reigned thirty years, in which belief we by no means concur. For at that *troubled* period in which the ark of the Lord was conveyed off to the town Cariathiarim, Saul had not yet begun to reign; but it is told us that the ark was removed by King David from that town, when it had staid there for twenty years. Therefore

Saul held the government for a very short duration, when he could have reigned and died within that time. We have the same darkness with respect to the times of Samuel, so that he who, being born with the priest Heli, is recorded to have discharged *the duties* of the priesthood when a very old man. By some, however, who have written of the times (because history has marked clearly almost nothing of his years), it is recorded that he governed the people seventy years. In so great an abundance of error, we, following the remarks of the *Chronicles*, because we suppose from facts that it proceeded from the Acts of the Apostles,—we set down Samuel and Saul to have conducted the chief government for forty years.

Upon the death of Saul, David, when intelligence of his death was brought to him in the land of the Philistines, is handed down to have wept with a wonderful sample of filial affection; then he repaired to Hebron, a town of Judæa. There, being anointed again with the royal chrism, he was styled king. But Abner, who had been captain of King Saul's army, having despised David (*David being despised:* spirit of the Latin), appointed as king, Isboseth, the son of his own sovereign. Then the generals of the kings engaged in repeated battles (literally, then *it was engaged between the generals of the kings in frequent battles*). Abner *was* oftener beaten, yet in his flight he slew Mael, brother of Joab, who commanded the army on the side of David. Through resentment for which, Joab afterwards commanded him to be cut down when Abner had surrendered himself to King David, not without the grief of the king, whose plighted faith he had stained with blood. About the same time almost all the elders of the Hebrews, with public unanimity, conferred the rule of the whole nation upon him: for he had reigned in Hebron on for seven years. So he is anointed king a third time, about thirty years' *old.* He repulsed in prosperous battles the Philistines rushing into the kingdom. At that *troubled* period he conveyed off to Sion the Ark of the Lord, which, as we mentioned, was in the town Cariathiarim. And when he purposed (*in animo haberet*) to build a temple to the Lord, an answer from Heaven was given him, that that was kept for his seed. He then tamed the Philistines in war, brought the Moabites under his yoke, humbled Syria, and imposed a tribute upon it. He brought back of the spoil a vast quantity of gold and silver. Then a war broke out against the Ammonites, arising from the offence of Chanum their king. The Syrians, revolting once more (denuo, *i.e.*, de *novo*, ἐξ αρχῆς, τὸ παλὶν), who had conspired for war with the Am-

monites, David had committed the chief administration of affairs to Joab, the captain of his army; he himself afar off (remotus, ἀποχῶρισθεὶς, ἀποκίνηθεὶς) from the war, tarried within Jerusalem. At which season he unguardedly beheld one Bathshebah, a woman of wonderful beauty, and he incontinently desired her. She is recorded to have been the wife of a (certain) man (Uriah), who was then in the camp. David caused that he, being exposed in a dangerous part of the fight, be slain by the enemies. So he gathered (*aggregavit* ab et *grex*, ἐπισυνηγάγε) the woman in marriage, *now* a widow, in the number of his wives. Then, severely rebuked by Nathan the prophet, though having avowed his error (ἁμαρτημα), he escaped not the correction of the Lord. For he lost, a few days after, a son born of Bathshebah, and many abominable misfortunes fell upon his house and his family. At last (κατά τό τέλος, *ad extremum*) his son Absalom took up undutiful arms against his father, desiring to turn him off the throne. Joab fought against him, instructed by the king to spare him *when* conquered. But he, in contempt of the command, avenged with the sword the parricidal attempts. That victory is recorded to have been much lamented by the king. By so much, τοσῶ μαλλον, had he natural affection in him, that he wished pardon to be given even to a parricide son. Scarce did this war seem to be ended, when another broke out again, under one Seba, its leader, who had instigated every worst man to hostilities. But all disturbance was speedily put an end to by the death of the leader. Then David engaged in numerous battles against the Philistines with prosperous result: and all being quelled by war, and as well foreign as domestic commotions being repressed, he enjoyed a most flourishing reign in peace.

Then a sudden desire seized him for measuring the strength of his government, to take a census of the people. So ten times a hundred and thirty thousand citizens were numbered by Joab, "captain of the army". He grieved, and repented of this proceeding soon after, praying for pardon of the Lord for having lifted his thoughts to that, so as to estimate the power of his kingdom rather from the great number of his people than from the kindness of God. And so an angel being sent to him, threatens him with three sorts (by threes) of punishments, and gives him an option of choosing one. But when a famine of three years was set before him, a banishment of three months, a mortality of three days, abhorring (*avoiding*) the banishment and the famine, he chose the death. And in an instant seventy thousand perished. Then David, seeing the angel by whose right hand the

people were overthrown, prayed for pardon, and offered himself alone to punishment for all,—that he was himself deserving of destruction because that he himself had sinned. So was turned aside the punishment of the people. David built an altar to the Lord in the place in which he had seen the angel. Presently, being more enfeebled by years and distemper, he appointed his son, *begotten* by Bathshebah, the wife of Uriah, successor to the throne (or, he appointed his *accepted successor to the throne*). He being anointed with the royal chrism by Sadoc the priest, was styled king, in the lifetime of his father: David died when he had reigned forty years.

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NOTES.

1. *Citharœ*, κὶθαραα κινεῶ ερῶς, erat, *Apollinis, ab lyra* Mercurii.

2. *Objectare eum periculis statuit.* How far similarly does Sallust make Micipsa act in the case of Jugurtha!

3. *Primum*, "in the first place", or "for the first time"; *primo*, "at first", or "in the beginning".

4. *Matrimonium*, generic term, means the privilege to become a married mother; *connubium*, between freeborn citizens; *contubernium*, between a free Roman unequally yoked with a slave or a stranger.

5. *Accidit*, casu vel bene vel *male; contingit*, sorte vel fortunâ fere semper bene. *Evenit* e præcedentibus exoritur.

6. *Ratus erat* "regarded as certain, as fact". *Opinari*, to form an opinion, implying no certain knowledge. *Arbitrari*, from *arbiter*, originally denotes "to observe or watch", hence "to form a judgment from a knowledge of facts", and hence "to decide controversies on clear and equitable grounds".

7. *Confugere*, "to flee for protection"; *fugere*, to flee from danger generally.

8. *Inani opera ejus exitium moliebatur, quem Deus protegebat.* "If God be with us, who can be against us?"

9. *Hortatio*, "animating and encouraging"; *suasus*, "persuasively argumentative"; *Monitio et monitum*, advising with friendly intention, real or pretended.

10. *Diploïs*, unde *doublet*, "lined garment", "mantle", or "large enough to fold double", giving an idea of the great quan-

tity of material in the garments of the wealthy in ancient times, as in *bis ter ulnarum toga—Horace.*

11. *David remisso.*—What parallel in the case of David here and the Philistines, with Themistocles and the Persian king, when that general observed to his family, "*perivissem ni per-ivissem*".

12. *Centena*, made distributive by *decies*. The cardinal numerals, *unus*, *duo*, *tres*, *centum*, are to be distinguished from the distributive, *singuli*, *seni*, *centeni*, etc. The cardinals imply that the number spoken of belongs to all collectively, and is the whole amount; the distributives denote that the number specified belongs to each individual, and is therefore only a part of the whole. Thus *Regnaverunt per quinos annos*, "They reigned five days each", not "five days", which would be *quinque.*

13. *Incolumi adhuc patre*, "his father being yet alive", opposed to "extinct"; also sometimes "whole and sound", opposed to "impaired"; as *Incolumi* nam te ferrea semper erunt"—*Sueton.* The word has strictly no necessary reference to hurt or evil or danger; so that the note under the Latin text is not to be adopted *safely* (ab *in*, and *columen*). *Securus*, i.e. *seorsum*, or *sine cura*, means "fearless", or "free from apprehension of danger", "regardless", or "free from concern"; *cum* mare compositum est *securus* navita, cessat (ἀμέριμνος). *Tutus*, a tueor, ἀσφαλής, ἀκίνδυνος means "absolutely safe". Thus "*securus* est sed non *tutus*". *Salvus*, ὑγιής means "safe", "unhurt", "in good health": *salvum* gaudeo te advenire; also applied to inanimate things, as *fide salvâ. Sospes* means "safe" or "free from harm", in relation to future dangers, α σῶς πέτει *salvus vadit.*

SOLOMON.

Solomon, in the beginning of his reign, surrounded the city with a (*strong*, *outer defensive*) wall (not *mœnibus* a *munio*, which means "battlements or fortifications" to annoy an enemy; nor *pariete*, a "supporting or partition wall"; nor *macéria*, a garden wall or such). The Lord seemed to stand by (approach) him in his sleep, granting him a choice of asking what he would (III. *Kings*, iii. 5). But he asked nothing else but (*than*) wisdom to be given him, little valuing the rest. Thus, "awaked" from sleep, while he had stood before the sanctuary of the Lord, he gave a proof of the wisdom conceded him by the Lord. For,

when two women, lodging in one house, had given birth to male children (*pueros*) at the same time, and one of them had died in the night, three days after (*post diem tertium*), the mother of the dead child lying in wait for the sleep of the other, substituted (*by counterfeit*) her dead (*child*), and took away the living one. Then *was* a brawling (*altercatio* λογομαχία, αλληλομαχία) between them on the subject of the child. Ultimately, the case was referred to the king. Hard was the getting rid of a trial between *parties* pleading negatively where witness was absent. Then Solomon, through the gift of Heavenly wisdom, commands the child to be killed, and its body to be divided between the disputants. And when one of them assented to the decision (*judgment*), but the other would prefer rather to quit her right in the child than have it cut asunder, Solomon divining, from the woman's affection, that she was in truth the mother, adjudged the child to her, not without the wonderment (*admiratione* θαυματισμῶ) of the by-standers, for as much as, by his intuitive wisdom, he had brought out the concealed truth.

So the kings of the neighbouring nations, for high estimation of his abilities and discretion, solicited friendship and alliance from him, being ready to submit to his commands. Depending upon which resources, having undertaken to build to the Lord a temple of vast labour, having prepared expenses for the space of three years, he laid the first foundation nearly in the fourth year of his rule (*reign*), in nearly the five hundred and eighty-fifth year from the setting out of the Hebrews from Egypt, though in the *Third Book of Kings* (*reigns*), four hundred and forty years are recorded to have been (*the number*), the which is by no means agreed to: for as much as, by the order embraced above, it would have been easier to have set down (*ut annotaverim*) haply a lesser number of years than a greater. But I doubt not that the truth was marred rather by the carelessness of the transcribers, especially after the intervention of so many ages (*sæculis*, αιῶσι, γενεὰις), rather than that the prophet made a mistake. As in the case of this little work of our own, we believe that it will happen, that through want of care of the copyists, *passages* may be hurt which have been arranged by us not without care. So, then, Solomon completed the beginning of the temple, so far as its riches (or, *so far as his own resources, riches, etc., quoad*), in the twentieth year.

Having then offered a solemn sacrifice in the same place, and having enunciated words (*oratione*, a speech), in which he blessed the people and the temple, the Lord spake to him, threatening

that it would come to pass that if at any time they would have transgressed and left the Lord, that that temple would be levelled with the ground. The which we see long since fulfilled, and we shall presently explain the connected order of the events.

In the meantime, Solomon, flourishing in riches, the richest of all the kings that ever had been,—and *when*, what is ever the course of things, he, sinking from riches to luxury and vices,—when, in opposition to the prohibition of God, he had taken wives from the aliens—he had even seven hundred wives,—he made false gods for them after the fashion (*ritual*) of their own nations, to which they might offer sacrifice. By which things the Lord being estranged, he threatened punishment to him, when violently rebuked, *saying* that it would come to pass that his kingdom, taken in the greater part from his son, would be delivered to his servant. And that happened so.

DIVISION OF THE MONARCHY.

KINGS OF JUDAH AND KINGS OF ISRAEL—ROBOAM.

After the death of Solomon, in the fortieth year of his reign, when Roboam his son, in the sixteenth year of his age, had begun to occupy his father's throne, a portion of the people, displeased with him, revolted. For, when they had asked the tax to be lightened on them, which Solomon had laid on very heavy, by having rejected the prayers of the supplicants he had alienated the good-will of the universal people. And so the government is conferred upon Hieroboam with the accord of all. He, born of half-breed (*medio genere*), had for some time paid service to Solomon. But when he (Solomon) had learned that the sovereignty of the Hebrews was declared to him by the answer of the prophet Achias, he (*Solomon*) had resolved to kill him secretly. Through fear of which he fled for protection to Egypt; and there having taken a wife from the royal family, upon having learned at last the death of Solomon, returning to his native country, he took upon him the government with the good-will of the people, as we stated above. However, with Roboam the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin had settled (*had attached themselves*). Out of those he raised an army to two hundred thousand (*in number*). And when the armies were advanced, the people are warned in

the words of God to abstain from (*ut abstineret*) battle, that Hieroboam had received the throne through his direction. Thus having despised the authority of the king, the army fell away. The power (government) of Hieroboam grew strong.

HIEROBOAM.

But when Roboam got possession of Jerusalem, where the people had been accustomed to offer sacrifice to the Lord in the temple built by Solomon, Hieroboam dreading lest divine worship (*religio*) might turn away the people from him (*eo ipso*), he resolved to take possession of their minds with false worship. And so he set up a golden heifer in Bethel, and another at Dan, to the which the people might offer sacrifice. And he appointed priests of the common people, having passed by (*put aside*) the tribe of Levi. Expostulation followed after a base crime hateful to the Lord. Frequent battles then between the kings held the sceptre with doubtful issue.

ASA.

Roboam died after having completed the seventeenth year of his government. In his room (*stead*), Abia, his son, held for six years the sovereignty of Jerusalem, although, in *The Chronicles*, he is recorded to have reigned three years.

ASA.

Asa, his son, succeeded him almost the fifth from David, as being his grandchild's grandson (great-great-grandson). He was a pious worshipper of the Lord; for having destroyed the altars and groves of the false gods, he took away the traces of his father's unfaithfulness. He established a treaty with the king of Syria; by his aid he visited with great disaster the kingdom of Hieroboam, which was then held by his son, and having often con-

quered the enemy, he bore off spoil from the victory. Having a distemper of his feet (*æger pedibus*), he died forty-one years after (i.e., *after the fortieth and one year*). To him a threefold transgression is imputed; one, that he too much depended upon the alliance of the king of Syria; another, that he threw into chains the prophet of the Lord, rebuking him for this very thing; a third, that (*quia*, ὅτι), in *the case of* the pain of his feet, he provided no cure from the Lord, but from the doctors. But in the beginning of his reign, Hieroboam, king of the ten tribes, died.

NADAB.

Nadab bequeathed the kingdom to his son. He, being hateful to the Lord by evil works, as well through his own as his father's deserts, enjoyed the kingdom not over two years.

BAASA.

His issue, deprived of the government, and unworthy of it, had Baasan, the son of Achiah, successor, equally very-far-removed from the Lord. And he died in the twenty-fourth year of his government.

ELAH.

The sovereign rule devolved upon his son Elah, and was not (*nec*) held beyond the space of two years.

ZAMBRIH AND AMRIH.

For Zamri, chief of the horse, slew him at an entertainment, and seized upon the kingdom,—a man equally wicked towards God

and men. A division of the people revolted from him. The title of king (*regium nomen*) was conferred upon one Thebni; but Amri reigned seven years before him, and twelve *along* with the same.

JOSAPHAT.

But Asa having died in part of the tribe of Juda, Josaphat, his son, began to reign, a man deservedly renowned for pious virtues. He made peace with Ahab, son of Amri. Moreover, he died when he had reigned twenty-five years.

AHAB.

In the time of his government, Ahab, son of Amri, was king of ten tribes, being wicked towards the Lord above *all men;* for, having taken in marriage Jezabel, the daughter of Ethabal, king of Sidon, he built an altar and groves to the false god Baal, and slew the prophets of the Lord.

ELIAS THE PROPHET, *called* "*Elizah the Tishbite*".

At which time Elias the Prophet shut up the heavens by his speech, so that it should give no rain to the Earth, and he proclaimed (*intimated*) that to the king, that the wicked (*monarch*) might know him to be the cause of the misfortune. So then, suspending the waters in the heaven, when all places, burnt up by the raging heats of the sun, gave neither sustenance to *man* (generic term for *men*, *mankind*, etc.) nor provender to the cattle; the prophet himself had inclosed himself within peril of famine. At that point of time, when he had repaired to the wilderness, he lived (*carried on life*) by means of ravens supplying him with victuals. The nearest stream gave him water, until it was dried up. Then being instructed by the Lord, he repaired to the town of Sarepta; he lodged with a woman, a widow; and when being hungry, he

asked from her (meat) *something to eat* (*cibum* βρῶμα, ἐδῶδὴν, ἐδεσμὰ), she pleaded (*causari*) that she had nought but a small measure of barley and a small measure of oil, which, should it be consumed (*being consumed*), she and her children (with her children) might look for death. But when Elias, in the words of God, promised that neither her cupboard would be lessened of its bread nor her vessel in its oil, the woman not hesitating to believe the prophet demanding her faith, attained the fulfilment of the promises, since so much as she daily withdrew increased by additions from Heaven. At that same time Elias brought back (*restored*) to life the dead son of that same widow. Then by command of the Lord, he visited the king, and having thrown in his face his heinous behaviour, he required all the people to be assembled before him: who, when they had speedily come together, nearly four hundred and fifty priests of idols and of groves being sent for, a debate then arose between them. Elias proclaiming the Lord, they were maintaining their own false religions. Finally, it was agreed that there be an experiment made, that if fire sent from Heaven would consume the slain victim of any, that religious form should be established which would have exhibited the great power. So the priests, having slain a calf, began to implore their idol Baal; and, having expended their adjurations, they silently confessed the feebleness of their God. Then, indeed, Elias jeering them, says: "Cry not over earnestly, lest haply he sleep, so that he may waken from the sleep in which he is lulled". For verily the wretches quaking with fear kept muttering, and yet desired to know what Elias was going to do. But he, when he had first filled the holy place with water, placed on the slain calf, and having invoked the Lord while all were awaiting, fire descending from Heaven consumed the water and the victim (*cum hostia*, not *victima*). Then truly did the people, being spread flat upon the ground, acknowledge the Lord, curse false gods. Finally, by order of Elias, the unholy priests were seized, and being led down to a rapid river (*torrentem*, χειμαρροον) were destroyed. The prophet followed after the king returning thence. But Jezabel, the king's wife, framed a peril against his life; he withdrew to remoter parts. The Lord spoke to him, declaring that there were seven thousand men still who had not given themselves up to idols. That was wonderful to Elias, who had believed himself the only one free from sacrifice (*offering it*).

At that *uneasy* period Ahab, king of Samaria, coveted the vineyard of Naboth, being close (*adhærentem*) to him. Which

when he had been unwilling to sell, he was killed by the guiles of Jezabel. So Ahab became master of (*potitus est*) the vineyard; when, however, he is recorded to have grieved for the death of Naboth. Soon after, having been checkt-and-taunted (*increpitus*, καταμεμθεὶσ) by the word of God, through Elias, and having acknowledged his offence, clad in (*Cilician goat-skin*) haircloth (κίλικιῶ), he is related to have done penance. By which proceeding he turned away the threatening punishment. For the king of Syria (*Benhadad*) with a large army, having taken to him two and thirty kings for alliance in the war, having entered the confines of Samaria, began to lay siege to the city against the king (*cum rege*). Then in the straitened circumstances of the besieged, he offers as terms of the war that it would come about that he would spare their life if they would surrender their gold and silver and women. But to submit to extremities appeared preferable to terms so unjust. And when now the safety of all was despaired of, a prophet sent by the Lord visits the king, encourages to go forth into battle, strengthens him in many ways when he hesitates. So a sally having been made, the enemies were overthrown and an abundant spoil was found. But his strength being recovered a year after, the Syrian having returned into Samaria desiring to go and avenge (*ultum ire*) the disaster (*cladem*, not *stragem*, nor *calamitatem*, nor *jacturam*) that he had received (*acceptam*, ἥττάν λήφθεὶσαν), he was once again conquered.

In that battle a hundred and twenty thousand Syrians perished; pardon being granted to the king (*Benhadad*), his kingdom and former rank were accorded to him. Then Ahab, rebuked by the prophet in the words of God, for having in abuse of the divine favour (*cur abusus divini munere*) spared the enemy, delivered into his hands: so then the Syrian, three years after, waged war on the Hebrews. Again, Ahab, at instigation of the false prophets, marched down to battle, having despised and flung into chains the prophet Michah, because he had declared that the fight would be fatal to him. So Ahab, being slain in that battle, bequeathed the government to his son Ohozias.

NOTE.

Altercatio, λογομαχία, strife of words; *jurgium*, "a chiding or slight difference between friends".

Lis, "discord between opponents", sometimes improved into *lawsuit*. *Rixa*, "noisy contention, brawling, and blows".

Contentio, merely a "striving together", "a strenuous exertion of faculties, corporeal or mental, on each side".

Controversia, "a dispute concerning any questionable or doubtful matter", always denotes contradiction and opposition.

Disceptatio, a discussion or debating concerning a matter of *controversy* with a view to a decision.

Certamen, though sometimes used for *contentio*, is "a trial for the superiority", "a contest for the victory".

Mussare is secret and low, for fear of being heard.

Murmurare is louder, approaching to *tumultus*.

OHOZIAH,

Infirm of body, when he had sent some of his servants to consult a false god for his health, and Elias instructed by the Lord presented himself to meet them, and he commands them, being rebuked, to bear back word to the king that his death would follow close. The king then commands him to be seized and brought to him: but the persons sent were cut off with fire from Heaven. The king died as the prophet had foretold.

JORAM (*of Israel*).

But Joram his brother succeeded him, and he enjoyed the government twelve years.

JORAM (*of Judah*).

But in the portion of two tribes (*Judah* and *Benjamin*), King

Josaphat having died, Joram his son, eighteen years of age, obtained the kingdom. He had for his wife a daughter of Ahab, and was more like his father-in-law than his father.

OHOZIAH.

After him his son Ohoziah obtained the government. In his reign Elias is recorded to have been removed (*to Heaven*).

ELISEUS (*Elishah*) THE PROPHET.

At the same time appeared Elishah, pupil of the other (*ejus*), powerful for many miracles, all which are better known than to need (*ut egeant*) our pen (*stylo*). By him was the son of the widow-woman ("the Shunamite") raised, a Syrian was cleansed of his leprosy (*Naaman*).

In the time of a famine a plenty of all things was brought in; the enemies being put to flight. Waters were supplied for the use of three armies. From a slender (*provision*) of oil the woman (*of Sunem's*) debt was paid off with extraordinary increases, and a competent provision for living was given herself.

In his times, as we said, Ohoziah was king of two tribes; but Joram governed ten, as we stated above, and between them was a treaty concluded. For they warred (*bellatum* est ab illis) both against the Syrians with united strength, and, going forth together into battle against Jehu, who had been anointed by the prophet as king of the ten tribes, they fell in the same fight.

JEHU.

Now Jehu held the sceptre of Joram, having buried king Ohoziah in Judæa, who reigned one year. Athaliah, his mother, seized upon the government, having taken the power away from her grandson, even then a little child, who was named Joas.

JOAS.

But the government, violently taken from him by his grandmother, eight years after nearly, was restored by *means* of the priest and the people having dethroned his grandmother. He, at the beginning of his reign, was most regardful of divine worship, and he decorated the temple with great expenditures (*expenses*). Afterwards, being vitiated by the flatteries (adulatione) of the chief men, and worshipt by them, he incurred the wrath of God. For Azael, king of Syria, waged war upon him, and when his fortunes were drooping (*inclinatis rebus* ὥς επεκλίνοντο τα πραγμὰτα), he bought a peace by the gold of the temple. And yet, however (*nec tamen*), he enjoyed it not, being slain by his people through odium of the deed, in the fortieth year of his government. Amasis, his son, succeeded him.

JOACHAS.

But, on the part of the ten tribes, upon the death of Jehu, Joachas, his son, reigned, hateful to God for (*by*) his evil works, by reason of which things his kingdom was a spoil (*source of spoil*) to the Syrians, until the enemies, being driven out by the compassion of God, they (*people*) began to hold their former condition.

JOAS AND AMAZIAS.

Joachas, having completed his *appointed* time (*diem*), bequeathed the kingdom to his son Joas. He waged a civil war upon Amazias, king of the two tribes, and having gained a victory, he turned off much spoil to his own kingdom; and that is recorded to have happened by reason of Amazias' transgression. Forasmuch as having entered the territories of the people of Edom a conqueror, he adopted the false gods of that nation. He is written down to have reigned nine years; yet, in the Books of the *Reigns* (*Kings*), in the *Paralipomena*, and also in *The Chro-*

nicles, it is registered that he held the government nine and twenty years, that is to say (*nimirum* ἀμέλει, ὅῆτα, ὅήπου), that computation impressing it, which can easily be seen through in those Books of *The Reigns*.

NOTES.

1. *Paralipomena*, παραλειπομενα—The two Books of *Chronicles*, so called because they give an account of certain things more fully that had been left out, or past by, in the History of the *Kings*.

2. *Chronica*—Histories of things done from time to time a χρονος. *Chronica*, register the deeds of several nations. *Annales*, only what happens, or is done, each particular year in one particular country.

HIEROBOAM.

For Hieroboam, king of the ten tribes, is recorded to have begun to reign, in the fifteenth year of the government of Amasias, and to have held the government forty-one years. He died at last (or, ὅη μεν *demum* certainly), in the twenty-eighth year of his government, in the reign of Ozias, the son of Amasias. By the which reckoning (λογισμω *ratione*) he has made out twenty-nine years for king Amasiah. And so (*therefore*), following this same, because we like (*placet*) to pursue the consideration of the times, we have acquiesced in the authority of the *Chronicles*. So, then, his son succeeded Ozias, the son of Amasias. For in his portion of the ten tribes, Joas, having fulfilled his appointed time, had made way for his son Jeroboam.

ZACHARIAH.

And, after him, Zachary, his son, reigned. We did not think it meet that the times of these kings should be noted down, and of

all who governed Samaria on part of the ten tribes; because, having a regard for conciseness, we have passed over irrelevant matters, and for a thorough knowledge of dates (*ad cognitionem temporum*), that the years must be traced most particularly of that portion, which formerly being led away spent their time more freely in the kingdom.

OZIAS.

So then, Ozias, having obtained the throne of Judah, had a particular solicitude for (*of*) thoroughly knowing the Lord, having very much referred to Zachariah the prophet. Esaiah is recorded also to have prophesied for the first time a little before this *period*. Owing to which desert, he (Ozias) carried on wars against the neighbours with successful results. He subdued the Arabians also; and now he made Egypt tremble with the terror of his name, and, being elated by his prosperity, taking upon him things unpermitted, he offered incense to God, which it was (*religiously*) right for priests alone to do. Therefore, when being rebuked by Azariah, the priest, he was constrained to depart from that place, and *when* he had violently vented his anger, he went off covered with a leprosy. Afflicted by which distemper, he died, when he had reigned fifty-two years.

JOATHAM.

Then the throne was given to his son Joatham; and he is recorded to have been very holy, and he conducted the government successfully; he compelled the nation of the Ammonites, being conquered in war, to pay him tribute. Moreover, he reigned sixteen years, and Ahaz, his son, succeeded him.

PENANCE OF THE NINEVITES.

JONAH.

The faith of the people of Nineveh is recorded to be renowned about these times. That town, built long ago by Assur, the son

of Shem, was capital of the kingdom of the Assyrians, crowded then with a great number of inhabitants, maintaining a hundred and twenty thousand men, and as in a great population abounding with vices. By which things, God being enraged, he charged Jonah the prophet to go from Judæa and threaten destruction to the city, as Sodom and Gomorrha had long ago burnt up with fires from Heaven. But, the prophet declining the performance of the charge, not from contumacy (*stubborn disobedience*), but from foresight, by which he saw that the Lord was to be propitiated by the penance of the people, he got aboard a ship that was making for Tharsos, in a far remote country. But when they advanced (*processum* est ab illis) into the deep, the sailors, constrained to it by the tempestuousness of the sea, tried to find out (*exploravere*) who was the occasion of the misfortune. When the lot had fallen upon Jonas, he was pitched forth into the deep as a sacrifice to propitiate the storm; and, having been received by a whale, a monster of the sea, (*monstro* MARINO, not MARITIMO—θαλάσσιῶ, or, ἐναλὶῶ, not ἐπὶθαλασσιῶ, or, παραλὶῶ), and swallowed up, being tossed after three days nearly (*three days after, nearly*) upon the shores of the Ninevites, he publishes the commands, that is to say (*scilicet, i.e.*, scire licet, δήπου), that the city would perish in three days' time for (*ob*) the transgressions of the people. Thereupon the prophet's voice was heard not with dissimulation as long ago at Sodom; and immediately, by the command and example of the king, the entire people, nay even the newly born, are commanded to keep themselves from food and drink. The beasts of burden (*jumenta a juvare*, not *pecora*, as ὑποζυγίον not κτῆνος) in the very same way (*itidem*, not *item, simply* "*so*", *or* "*in like manner*", nor *sicut*, "*in such manner in relation to what follows*", nor *adeo*, "so far alike", *in reference to past or future, or to effect.* Nor *quoque*, nor *etiam* "also", *denoting* "*in addition*", *with no regard to parity or resemblance*). And animals of different kind, constrained by hunger and thirst, kept showing (*præbebant*) the appearance of *creatures* mourning along with the human beings. So was the threatening evil turned aside. Answer was given to Jonas complaining before God, because faith was not given to his words, that pardon could not be refused to those who did penance.

SELLUM.

But in Samaria one Sellum slew that very wicked king Zachary, whom we stated above to have been on the throne, and he seized upon the sceptre (*the kingdom*).

MANAHEM.

And he the same, by the example of his own deed, fell by an ambuscade of Manahem.

PHACEIA AND PHACEE.

Selli took possession of the government, having been taken away from Manahem, and left it to his son Phaceia. But one Phace slew this same (Phaceia), and seized upon the kingdom.

HOSEE.

Soon after, being slain by Hosee, he lost the government, through (*by means of*) the same wickedness as (*quo*) he had taken it upon him. He, wicked more than (*above*) all former kings, incurred from God punishment to himself, and perpetual captivity for his nation. For Salmanazar, king of the Assyrians, waged war upon him, and made him, when conquered, a tributary to him. But when, with secret projects, he kept raising (*pararet*) rebellion, and was inviting to his aid the king of the Ethiopians, who was then in possession of Egypt; and *when* Salmanazar had discovered that, he hurled him in perpetual chains into prison, and destroyed his city, carried away the entire people into his own kingdom, the Assyrians being placed as a guard in the hostile country ("*hence the Samarians hold no intercourse with the Jews*"—John's Gospel). Hence that part is styled Samaria, because, in the language of the Assyrians, they call watches Samaritæ. From

whom many received their divine ceremonies, while the others persisted in the error of the old stock (*gentilitatis*). It was in this war that Tobias was carried into captivity.

NOTE.

Cæremonias a *cære* oppido Thusciæ a *Cæritibus* Hetruriæ populo, because, when Rome was taken by the Gauls, those people hospitably entertained the vestal virgins flying with the sacred depositories, penates, etc., and kept all safe until Camillus recovered his country, "unde et *Sacrarium populi Romani diversorium sacerdotum ac receptaculum sacrorum* vocat"—Liv. In gratitude, therefore, the Romans titled all things relating to religious worship ever after *Cæremonies ;* yet a slur has supervened upon a compliment in the phrase "*Cærite cerâ digni*", and its meaning, because, though the people of Cære were made free denizens of Rome at that time, they had no vote in elections, nor anything to do in the government; and so, "The Tables or Registers" wherein the censors set down the names of those citizens whom for any misdemeanour they deprived of their suffrage, or reduced from their rank, were said, "*In Cæritum tabulas referri*", to be set down in those tables as a degradation.

AHAZ.

But in the portion of the two tribes, King Ahaz, hateful to God for his irreligiousness, when he was often attacked by wars from (of) his neighbours, determined to worship the gods of the nations, forsooth, because those (*gentes scil*), by means of their (*deorum*) help had appeared conquerors in frequent battles. So he completed his appointed time in atonement of his impious mind, when he had been on the throne sixteen years.

EZEKIAH.

Him succeeded Ezekiah, much unlike his father's disposition ; for, in the beginning of his reign, encouraging the people and

priests to the worship of God, he reasoned, in many words, how, being frequently chastised by the Lord, they had oftener obtained compassion; how the ten tribes, at last being carried off lately into captivity (*by Salmanazar*), paid the penalty of their detestable life and conduct, that they should use particular care (*curandum iis sedulo*) that they would not deserve to suffer the same *visitations*. So, having turned the minds of all (*lit. the minds of all being turned*) to religious worship, he ordained all Levites and priests for celebrating sacrifices, in conformity to the law, and he appointed that the passover be celebrated, which had been long since given up. And when that festival day was near, having sent messengers in different directions through all the land, he promulgated the day of the meeting, to the intent that if any *persons*, after the carrying away of the ten tribes, had settled behind in Samaria, they might resort to the sacred solemnity. So, by a most crowded assembly was that sacred day spent in public joy, constitutional religion having been restored by Hezekiah after a long lapse of time.

Then, with equal application as (*qua*) he had attended to holy things, he regulated the war department (*rem bellicam*), and crushed the Philistines in numerous battles, until Sennacherib waged war, having entered his confines with a large army, and the country (*fields*) being laid waste, while no one opposed (*nullo obsistente*), he pressed the siege of the city. For Hezekiah, below him in numbers, not daring to engage in close combat (*manum conserere*), kept himself safe within the walls. The Assyrian king, hectoring at the gates, menaced destruction,—commanded a surrender,—that Hezekiah in vain trusted in his God,—that *it was* he rather had taken up arms at the direction of that God,—that the conqueror of all nations, the destroyer of Samaria, could not be escaped, unless they would have taken measures for themselves by timely surrender.

In this situation of affairs Hezekiah, depending upon God, asks advice of the prophet Esaiah; and is informed by his answer that there was no danger from the enemy, moreover that help from Heaven (*divinum auxilium*) would not fail. And not (*nec*) long after, Tirhac, king of the Ethiopians, invades the kingdom of the Assyrians. At which intelligence Sennacherib being turned to protect his own *effects*, blustering and clamouring that victory was wrested from him, *now* conqueror, he left off the war, having sent a letter to Hezekiah, threatening with bitter taunts of words that he will return soon to the destruction of Judæa, after he have settled matters a little after this at home.

But Hezekiah, being in nowise troubled by those things, is recorded to have besought the Lord that he leave not unpunished so great insolence of the fellow (*hominis*). So on that same night an angel, having attacked the camp of the Assyrians, consigned to death many thousands of the people (hominum). The king fled, trembling, for safety (confugit), to the town Niniveh, and there being murdered by his sons, he suffered a death worthy of him. About the same time Hezekiah, sickly in body, had lain down in disease. And the king is related to have wept, when Esaiah had declared to him the word of the Lord, that the end of his life was near, so he gained fifteeen years to be prolonged to his life. The which being completed, he died in the twenty-ninth year of his government.

MANASSES.

He left the kingdom to his son Manasses. He, degenerating far from his father, having left the Lord behind, employed himself in wicked observances, for the which, having been delivered up into the power of the Assyrians, being constrained by misfortune, he acknowledged his error, and he encouraged the people to worship the Lord, by having left their false gods. He achieved, indeed, nothing worthy of record, but he reigned forty-five years.

AMON.

Then Amon his son obtained the sceptre, nor enjoyed it longer than two years. An heir of his father's ungodliness, disregardful of the Lord, he died trapt by his own snares (*plots*).

JOSIAH.

The government devolved upon Josiah, his son. He is related to have been very pious, and to have conducted divine concerns with the highest attention, using the priest Helchiah advantageously.

When he had the written book of the word of God, found by the priest in the temple, in which was embraced that the Hebrew nation would be cut off for their repeated impieties and heinous offences, he turned away the constant threatening calamity by holy prayers to God and tears. The which when, through the prophetess Olla, he found was granted him, he employed himself in the worship of God with greater diligence, as being bound by divine favours. Accordingly, he burned down all the utensils of former kings dedicated to false gods by superstitious observances. For so strongly had unholy rites waxed (*ei invaluerant*), that they offered divine honours to the sun and moon, and to the same also they constructed sanctuaries of gold and silver (*ex metallis*). The which being reduced into ashes, Josias slew also the priests of the unholy temples, nay (but) he spared not even the tombs of the ungodly: it was noted that what was formerly foretold by the prophet was fulfilled. In the eighteenth year of his government the passover was solemnised.

Nearly three years after, having gone forth to battle against Necho, king of Egypt, who was waging war upon the Assyrians, he was hit with an arrow ere the lines met together (encountered), and being borne back to the city, he died of that wound when he had reigned thirty-one years.

JOACHAZ.

Then Joachaz, his son, having got the kingdom, held it three months, being appointed to captivity on account of his ungodliness. For Nechao, king of Egypt, led him off bound and captive, and not long after he completed his appointed time in bonds.

ELIACHIM.

An annual tribute was imposed upon the Jews. Eliakim was given them as king at the pleasure of the conqueror (*Nechao*), who was afterwards called after Joachim, his name being changed (by *Nechao*). He was brother of Joachas, son of Josias, more assimilating his brother than his father, hateful to God for his

bad life (*sacrilegio*). Well, then, while he was subject to the king of Egypt, Nebuchodonosor, king of Babylon, seized by arms upon the land of Judæa, and for three years victoriously held it by right of war. For upon the king of Egypt's now departing, and the limitations of their government being mutually fixed, it had been agreed that the Jews proceed to Babylon.

JOACHIM.

So when Joachim, after having spent eleven years on the throne, had made way for his son, of the same name, and he had aroused against himself the anger of the king of Babylon, God, no doubt, working it, by whom it had been purposed to consign the Jewish nation to captivity and utter destruction, Nebuchodonosor having entered Jerusalem with an army, laid the city, and walls, and temple, level with the ground; he removed away a vast quantity of gold and sacred ornaments, as well public as private; and all persons at the age of puberty, of male and female sex, whose weakness or age was disgustful to the conquerors; which crowd, being of no use, *was* set aside for slavery, for working and cultivating the fields, that the soil might not be without culture. And over these slaves Sedecias was appointed as king, the power being taken away, the empty shadow of the kingly title only being granted *him*. But Joachim had the duration of his government *limited to* three months (*within three months*). He was removed with the people to Babylon, and thrown into prison; let out thirty years after, and accepted into the king's friendship, being made a sharer in his table and his counsels, he died, not without the consolation of having averted the misfortune.

SEDECIAS.

In the meantime, Sedecias, the king of the useless rabble, although unpossessed of (*without*) strength, being of a treacherous disposition, and forgetful of God, who understood not that captivity was inflicted for the sins of the nation, finally bounden (*as debtor*, χρεῶστουμενος, οφειλομενος) to the last misfortune, he gave offence

to the spirit of the king. So Nebuchodonosor waged war on him nine years after, and besieged him three years, being constrained to take refuge within the walls. At which *troubled* period he consults Jeremiah, the prophet, who had already frequently declared that captivity was threatening the city, *to see* if haply there remained any hope. But he, not unacquainted with the anger of Heaven, being frequently asked the same questions, answered, threatening the king himself with particular punishment (lit. *denouncing especial punishment to the king himself*—spirit of the Latin, not English). Then, indeed, Sedecias, being stirred (*excitatus*, εξεγήγερμενος) with rage, commands the prophet to be thrust into prison, and soon after he was sorry for the cruel deed. But the chief men of the Jews opposing him, with whom it had been a *matter of* usage from the very beginning to oppress the good, he dared not set the innocent *prophet* free. The same *persons* overruling it, he was thrown down into a pit of immense depth, hideous both with mire, and filth, and pestilent stench therefrom, that he might die not even by an ordinary death. But the king, though ungodly, yet somewhat milder than the priests, commands the prophet to be led forth from the pit and consigned to the confinement of a prison.

In the meantime, the violence of the enemy and the scarcity pressed the besieged, and all things that could be eaten having been consumed, the famine had grown strong. So when the defenders were wearied out with hunger, the town was taken and burnt. The king was carried off to Babylon, as the prophet had stated, his eyes being thrust out. Jeremiah was released from prison by the compassion of the enemy. When Nabuzardam, the chief man with the king, was bringing away the captive along with the others, a choice having been offered him, whether he would like to settle behind in his own native soil, deserted and desolate, or set off in the highest dignities with him, he preferred to stay behind in his country. Nebuchodonosor, having carried off the people, set Godolias of the same nation, without any appendage of a king or title of authority, because it was no dignity to rule over few and wretched, to govern the residue, whom the condition of the war or the disgust of them as spoil, had caused to be left behind by the conquerors.

END OF LATIN AUTHORS.

SELECTIONS

FROM THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF EUSEBIUS,

AND FROM

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

TRANSLATION FROM THE GREEK

FROM EUSEBIUS AND THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

DISPERSION OF THE APOSTLES.

THE holy apostles and disciples of our Saviour having been dispersed over (ἐφ' *before as aspirate vowel*, ἐπ' *before a lenis vowel, and* ἐπι *before a consonant*) the whole (ἁπάσαν, *all without exception:—*πασάν *all simply*) world, Thomas, indeed, as the tradition has it, was allotted for his portion, Parthia (by *Merc.* called *Arach*, by others, *Corassan*), but Andrew *got* Scythia (*Tartary*), and John *Asia*, among whom (*its inhabitants*) staying some time, he dies in Ephesus, now (*Figena* or *Efeso, famed for the Temple of "Diana, great of the Ephesians", one of the Seven Wonders of the World, burnt by Eratostratus on the night that Alexander was born:* but Peter appears to have preached in Pontus (*upon the Euxine or Black Sea*), and Galata (also called *Gallogræcia*, a Gallis, qui Græce Γαλάτια appellantur qui duce Brenno, relictâ patriâ, ibi sedes fixerunt, *now called Chiangare, by the Turks, Gelas*), and in Bithynia (once called *Bebrycia*, and *Mygdonia* now; by some, *Bursia*, by others, *Becscangial*, and by the Turks, *Osmanli.* "*Thyni Thraces erant, quæ nunc Bithynia fertur*"), in Cappadocia (*on the Euxine* or

Black Sea, famous for horses, mules, slaves, and drudges almost proverbially. Hence HORACE *says, that the king of that country was* MANCIPIIS DIVES) and Asia, to the Jews of (*in*) the dispersion. Thus in sooth, by Heavenly power and coöperation, did the word of salvation illuminate the universal world all at once, as a ray *shot from* the sun.

NOTES.

Dispersion. "From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, my suppliants, even the daughter of my *dispersed*, shall bring *mine offering*"—*Zephaniah.* "And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together *the dispersed of Judah* from *the four corners* of the Earth".

"Whither will he go, that we shall not find him? Will he go unto *the Dispersed* among the Gentiles, and teach the Gentiles?"—*John*, vii. 35.

The Dispersion, in fact, has reference to the Jews dispersed over all countries, but especially Egypt and Asia Minor since the Babylonish captivity.

ST. STEPHEN, THE FIRST MARTYR

STEPHEN, the first after the Lord, is stoned to death by the slayers of the Lord. For *as one*, who *being* full of grace and power, did wonders (*τερατα*) and great miracles among the people (*καὶ σημεῖα μεγάλα ἐν τῷ λαῷ*). Now (*δε*) there arose certain of the synagogue disputing with Stephen. And they stirred up the people, and the elders, and the scribes, and came upon him (*coming upon*, *ἐπιστάντες*), and caught him and brought him to the council (*συνέδριον*, sanhĕdrim). And set up false witnesses, which said (*saying*): This man ceaseth not to speak (*speaking*) blasphemous words against this holy place and the law. And all that sat in the council, looking steadfastly on him, saw his face as if the face of an angel.

ST. STEPHEN REBUKES THE JEWS.

THEN (*now, but* δε) said the High Priest, Are these things so? (*I ask if, as you say, these things have themselves so*—ερῶτῶ σε εἰ ἄρα τᾶντα οὕτῶς ἔχει ἑαυτά). But Stephen said, Ye stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and in years, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost. Which (τίνα accented is interrogative, τινὰ is indefinite) of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? and they have slain them which told before of the coming of The Just One, of whom ye have been now the betrayers and murderers. Now when they had heard these things, they gnashed their teeth on him.

VISION OF ST. STEPHEN—HIS DEATH.

BUT being (ὕπαρχῶν, *being* in principle, γινομενος by production or effect, and ὢν, mere state or existence: *generic term*) full of the Holy Ghost, looking up steadfastly into Heaven, he beheld the glory of God and Jesus standing on the right hand of God, and said: Behold, I see the Heavens opened and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God. Then, crying with a loud voice, they stopt their ears and rushed upon him with one accord. And having cast him out of the city they stoned him. And the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet named Saul.

CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL.

NOW Paul, a vessel of election, not of men, nor through men, but through the revelation of Jesus Christ, who had raised him from the dead, is made an apostle (αποστολος, μαθητης, ἑυαγγελιστής). For, in that he journeyed, it happened (*resulted*, εγενετο) that he came near to Damascus (now *Sciam* and *Scam, noble capital of Syria, where Adam and Eve dwelt when put out of Eden—unde Damascenes, damson plums*); and suddenly there shined round about him a light from Heaven. And, as he fell to the

earth, he heard a voice, saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And he said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest: it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. And he, trembling and astonished, said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And the Lord (*said*) unto him, Arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do.

SAUL IS LED TO DAMASCUS—HIS RESTORATION TO SIGHT—HIS BAPTISM.

And Saul was raised (arose) from the earth; and when his eyes were opened (*being opened*), he saw no man, but the men who were travelling with him, leading him by the hand, brought him into Damascus. And he was three days not seeing, and neither did he eat nor drink. Now, there was a certain disciple at Damascus, named (by name) Ananias, and the Lord said to him, in a vision, Ananias. And he said, Behold I (*am here*) Lord. But the Lord to him: Arising, go into the street that is called (*being called*) Straight, and inquire in the house of Judas for Saul, by name, of Tarsus (ταρσος, *pars pedis, quod ibi pede offenso ceciderit Pegasus*, now *Terassa*, city of Cilicia, birthplace of St. Paul, municipality of Rome, built by *Perseus*, whence called by *Lucan* Persea Tarsos). Go thy way, for he is a chosen vessel (*a vessel of election*) unto me to bear (in order to bear ενεκα τῦ βαστασαι) my name before the Gentiles and kings, the children of Israel. Now, Ananias went his way, and entered into the house, and putting his hands upon him, said, Brother Saul, the Lord hath sent me that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. And immediately there fell from his eyes as it were scales, and he received his sight, and arose and was baptized (*and arising, was baptized*).

MARTYRDOM OF ST. JAMES THE APOSTLE BY HEROD AGRIPPA, WHO WAS EATEN UP BY WORMS—HIS ACCUSER IS CONVERTED AND SHARES HIS MARTYRDOM.

Now, about that time, Herod the king stretched forth his hands to vex certain of those of the Church. And he killed with the

sword James, the brother of John. Now, of this James, the Clement (*St. Clement* ὁ Κλήμης) sets down also a piece of record deserving of remembrance (ἱστορίαν μνήμης ἀξίαν—*in his Seventh Book of Institutes*), affirming it as from tradition of those before him. That, indeed (δή, *a particle that gives to a sentence an expression of certainty or reality, in opposition to mere opinion or conjecture, and thus serves to increase the vivacity of discourse—indeed, then, now*) he who had brought him in before the justice-seat (*accuser or officer*), upon seeing him testifying *Christ*, being strongly affected (*by his firmness*), he also publicly confessed himself to be a Christian. Both then, he states, were led on together, and on the way he desired that pardon be vouchsafed to him by James; but he, deliberating a little, said, Peace be to you, and he kissed him, and so both were decapitated together.

ST. PETER THROWN INTO CHAINS BY HEROD.

Herod *the Great, king of Judæa, of Ascalon* (*Ascalonita*), *in whose time the sceptre was departed from Judah, as he was an alien, killed the innocents at the birth of our Saviour. Him the sect called Herodians took to be Messias. His grand-daughter was Herodias, married to Philip, from whom his brother, Herod Antipas, the Tetrach, took her for incestuous love, for the reproving of which he beheaded John the Baptist, at instance of Herodias, through Salome. In his time Christ was crucified. Herod Agrippa succeeded him. He is the person mentioned above. Galilee was given him by Claudius Cæsar. Herod Agrippa was nephew of Herod Antipas and Philip, and grandson of Herod Ascalonita. Caligula first gave him Judæa in prejudice to his uncle Archelaus.* Herod (Agrippa) seeing, upon the death of James, that it is a *thing* pleasing to the Jews, he proceeded to seize Peter also (προσέθετο συλλαβεῖν, lit. *he put himself to be about to seize*). Whom, when he had apprehended, he put him in prison, having delivered him to four quaternions (Τετράδιοις, ον, dim. of τετρας *number four, a detachment of four men, the usual number of a Roman night-watch relieved every three hours—two within the prison and two before the doors*) of soldiers to keep him. Peter, therefore (or *then*, μέν γ οὐ *et quidem*, μένδέ, generally correspond to each other to mark the *protasis* and *apodosis*—sometimes they mark mere *transition* or *continuativeness, and cannot well be rendered in English*), was kept in the prison.

PETER IS DELIVERED BY AN ANGEL.

But when Herod would (was intending to) bring him forth on that same night, Peter was sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains (*each hand to a hand of his guards*), and the keepers before the door were keeping the prison. And behold the angel of the Lord stood by him (ἐπέστη, or *came over him*), and a light shone in the prison (*house, dwelling,* οἴκηματι), and having struck Peter on the side (Peter's side πλευρὰν τοῦ Πετρου) he raised him up, saying, Up, quickly *in haste,* ανάστα for ἀναστηθι, εν ταχει. *This verb is divided between the transitive and intransitive meanings.* It is *transitive* in the *present,* imperfect, future, and aorist first active, and means *to cause* to rise up, to *raise up,* to *cause to stand.* It is intransitive in the perfect, pluperfect, and aorist second active, and in the middle, and means to *rise,* to *arise,* and his chains fell off from his hands. And the angel said to him: Gird thyself (Mid. v. περίζωσαι), and bind on (*under you*) your sandals. Now he did so. And he saith to him, Cast thy garment about thee and follow me. And having gone out he followed him. And having passed the first and second ward, they came unto the iron gate that leadeth (φέρουσαν) unto the city, which opened (ἠνοίχθη, perf. pass., fr. ανογω) to them, ultroneous. And having gone forth, they passed on through one street, and straightway the angel departed from him.

HE REPAIRS TO THE HOUSE OF MARY, MOTHER OF MARK, WHERE THE FAITHFUL WERE ASSEMBLED.

And when Peter was come to himself (γενόμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ) he said, Now I know of a surety (ἀληθῶς) that the Lord hath sent his angel, and hath delivered me out of the hand of Herod. And, having considered *the matter,* he came to the house of Mary, the mother of John, *that was* surnamed Mark, where there were many gathered together, and praying. And (δε) as he knocked at the door of the gate, a damsel, named Rhode, came to hearken (*to listen,* ὑπακοῦσαι). And, upon having known the voice of Peter, she did not open the gate, for joy, but running in, she told that Peter stood before the gate. But (δε) they said to her: You are

mad. But she affirmed strongly that it was so. Then (δε) they said, It is his angel. But (δε) Peter continued knocking. And (δε), having opened, they saw him, and were astonished. But (δε), beckoning to them with his hand to be silent, he told them how the Lord had brought him out of prison.

ST. LUKE, AUTHOR OF A GOSPEL, AND OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES —(*He was martyred in Greece, being hung on a green olive tree bearing fruit, for want of dry timber*).

LUKE (*contr. from Lat. Lucanus*), indeed (δε μεν, *last particle so joined, often not Englished*), being by birth of Antioch (*in Syria, where men first took the name of Christians*), and by profession a physician, very much (κατα τὰ πλεῖστα) intimate with Paul, and also not slightly familiar with the other apostles (τοῖς λοῖποις τῶν ἀποστόλῶν), has left, in two Heavenly inspired books, patterns of the healing *art* (θεραπευτικης scil. τεχνης) of souls which he had acquired from them (*the apostles*); and in his Gospel, which also he testifies that he had indited (χαράξαι, *exarasse*) according to what (καθὰ) they, who were eye-witnesses from the beginning, and ministers of the word, delivered (*declared*) to him, all of whom, he affirms, that he has followed from the beginning (*lit. from up*, above ἐπὰνωθεν); and in THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, the which, having received not by hearing, but by the eyes themselves, he has set in order (*which he had received, not by hearsay, but by the very eyes themselves, and sent down in order*).

NOTE.

Evangelist—Ευαγγελιστης—"Messenger of good tidings", α ευ bene, and αγγελλῶ, nuncio. Mathew, Mark, Luke, John were Evangelists, who wrote and preached. Apostles—Απὸστολοι—twelve chosen by Christ, and *sent away* as chief agents to preach and teach. Paul was reckoned afterwards (κατ' ἐξοχην) as apostle of the Gentiles. *Disciples*—Μαθηται—comprehends all *followers of Christ*, learners, *Christians*.

PERSECUTION BY NERO.

Now Nero (*Domitius*), having put to death many men of rank beyond number (*μυρίος, α ον, innumerable*, accent on second syl., *μυριοί αι, a, ten thousand*—accent on first syl.), proceeded to so great an extent of homicidal blood-shedding, that he did not withhold himself even from those most near and dear (*Agrippina*, his mother; *Octavia* Poppæa, his wife; *Seneca*, his tutor; *Lucan*, the poet, his friend, etc., etc.), but had cut off, indiscriminately, his mother, and brothers, and wife, with frightful varieties of deaths (*punishments?*) Now, then (*δε ἄρα, this last, an illative particle of transition*), there was needed this inscription also to be added to all his *others*, that he would be pointed out as the first arbitrary sovereign who was an enemy to piety against the Godhead. Therefore, now, there are recorded in his reign, Paul to have been beheaded in Rome itself, and Peter, in like manner, to have been crucified. (*So, then, Paul is recorded to have been beheaded at Rome, and Peter likewise crucified there in his time*).

PERSECUTION BY DOMITIAN.—ST. JOHN IS BANISHED TO THE ISLAND OF PATMOS BY (TITUS FLAVIUS) DOMITIAN, TWELFTH EMPEROR OF ROME, DEGENERATE SON OF VESPASIAN, BROTHER OF TITUS —PERSECUTOR OF CHRISTIANS.

Now when Domitian had put to death, with no rational trial, no inconsiderable number (*πλῆθος, multitudo*) of nobles and men of distinction at Rome, and having causelessly mulcted countless other distinguished men by banishment (i.e., *flights beyond the border ταῖς ὑπερ τὴν ἐνορίαν φνγαῖς*) and by ejectments from their estates (*proscriptions*), at last (*τελευτῶν*) he set himself up (*constituted himself*) successor to Nero's enmity-against-God, and his fighting-against-God.

In Domitian's *time*, it is said that John, apostle together and evangelist, sojourning still in life, was condemned to dwell in the island of Patmos (*one of the Sporades in the Ægean Sea*, now *Patimo* or *Patmosa*, *not far from Samos*), on account of his testimony to the Divine Word.

DOMITIAN DEAD.—ST. JOHN RETURNS TO EPHESUS.—HE TRAVERSES THE ADJOINING COUNTRIES, AND APPOINTS BISHOPS—IN ONE OF HIS JOURNEYS HE CONCEIVES AN ESTEEM FOR A YOUNG MAN, AND GIVES HIM IN CHARGE TO THE BISHOP.

But when, after the tyrant had died, John came back from the island of Patmos into Ephesus, he departed again also (upon being invited) to the neighbouring provinces (nations), where *he was* to appoint bishops, and where *he was* to remodel the Churches anew. When he had come then even into a certain city not remote (*from Ephesus*), the name of which also some *persons* add, at the finale *of the ceremony* (*in addition to all*, ἐπὶ πᾶσι) seeing a youth remarkable for personal appearance, exceedingly fair (ἀστεῖον) in aspect, and ardent in spirit, turning his eyes (*looking towards*, προσβλέψας) the bishop that he had appointed, he said, this *person* I entrust to you with all eager-interest, in presence of (ἐπι) the Church, and of Christ, the witness. But when he received *him* and promised all, again also John repeated the same subject (τὰ αὐτὰ) and enforced it with obtestation (διεμαρτύρετομεν). Then he indeed departed to Ephesus, but (δε *in connection with* μεν) the elder (or *presbyter to such, being same as* ἐπίσκοποι, *was entrusted the direction and government of individual churches. Symbol of the twenty-four elders around the throne of God, in Rev., iv.* 4, 10), having taken home with him the youth that was entrusted to him, he fed him, checked him, cherished him, finally (κάτα, *understood* τὸ τελευταῖον) he enlightened him (*scil. by imparting the sacrament of baptism, says Eusebius, in his Latin version*).

AFTER BAPTISM THE YOUNG MAN, SEDUCED BY FALSE FRIENDS, ALLOWS HIMSELF TO BE DRAWN INTO CRIME OF ALL KINDS—HE HEADS A BAND OF ROBBERS.

And after this he (*the Presbyter*) relaxed the greater care and guardianship, as having set over him (ἐφίστημι, ἔπιστήσω, *trans.* as in Xen. Lac., ii. 1) the perfect safeguard (*amulet*, φυλακτήριον, *in allusion to the* τὰ φυλακτήρια, *phylacteries or prayer-fillets—strips of parchment on which are written various sentences of the Mosaic*

law, which the Jews bind in different ways around the forehead and left wrist while at prayer, following a literal interpretation of Exod., xiii. 6, *and Deut.*, vi. 8, *and* xi. 18), *that is*, the Seal of the Lord. And him who had received relaxation before his time (i.e., *premature leave of absence*), certain idle, dissolute (*απερρω γότες, from this perf. mid. of ρηγγὺμι comes English—rogue*) companions and familiars-with-evil-things meet in corruptness, and first indeed by means of sumptuous (*expensive*) entertainments, they lead him along *with them;* then, as it appears (*που*), also going forth to a highway robbery, they bring him as their companion (*συεπαγονται*). Then they desired him to take a share in something greater also. Now by little and little he became familiarized; and, as an unruly and powerful horse, by reason of (*διὰ*) the greatness of his spirit, starting forward (*ἐκστὰσ. This verb in this tense generally means "being beside one's self"*) from the direct course, and, champing the bit, was wont to be borne (*ἐφέρετο*) more impetuously down the precipices: at last, rejecting (not knowing) the *hope of safety*, *σῶτηρίαν*, that is in God, he contemplated nothing insignificant any more; but by achieving some great *crime*, since he had been once for all lost, he desired to suffer similarly with the others. Now, having taken with him these same *confreres*, and having established with unanimous approbation (*συγκροτησας*) a robber club, he was their most violent, most sanguinary, and most atrocious highway captain.

ST. JOHN CALLS UPON THE BISHOP TO RESTORE THE DEPOSIT IN HIS KEEPING.—HE LEARNS THE EVIL COURSES OF THE YOUNG NEOPHYTE.

TIME in the interim (*elapsed*), and some occasion having occurred they call John away. Now when he had arranged the other things on account of which he came, Come now, said he, thou bishop, restore (*give away*) to us the deposit which Christ and I (*not "I and Christ" as the Greeks and Latins arranged*) have entrusted to you in presence of the Church as witness over which you shall preside (*προκατὲχομαὶ προκαθὲξόμαι*). Now at first he was thunderstruck, conceiving that he was accused falsely (*συκοφαντεῖσθαι*) of moneys that he did not receive (*συκοφάντης, from συκον a fig, and φαίνῶ to inform, was one who watched and informed against persons who exported figs from Athens long ago contrary to law.*) But when John said, I require that

young man and the soul of thy brother, the presbyter sighing, with downcast countenance, and with tears said: He is dead; but John (*said*) How? and by what death? He is dead to God, he said, for he has turned out wicked, and lost, and in fine, a robber, and instead of the Church now, he has taken to the hill with a congenial body of fellow-soldiers.

SORROW OF ST. JOHN AT THE INTELLIGENCE.—HE TAKES A HORSE.—REPAIRS TO THE CAMP OF THE ROBBERS, AND FINDS THE YOUNG MAN.

THEN the Apostle having rent his garb and struck his head with great lamentation, said: Verily, a fine guardian of a brother's soul I left! But let me have a horse now (lit. *let there be* a horse at hand ἵππος παρέστω, *equus adsit, præsto sit*) and let there be some guide for me on the way. He rode off as he was, from the same place out of the church. And when he had come to the place, he is arrested by the advanced guard of the robbers, neither flying, nor begging himself off, but shouting, "Conduct me to your commander". Who continued as he was, previously, armed; but when he recognized John approaching, affected with shame, he turned himself to flight. But he gave chase with vigorous pursuit, forgetting his own age, shouting, Why, my son, do you fly thy own father, an unarmed old man? Pity me, my son, fear not: thou hast still a hope of life: I shall plead an excuse for you with Christ, should it be requisite. I will cheerfully undergo your death (i.e., *the death due for you*) as the Lord did His (the *death*) for us, I will give my life in lieu of yours. Stand. Believe me (*trust to me*), Christ hath sent me.

THE YOUNG MAN YIELDS TO THE EXHORTATION OF ST. JOHN, AND DOES PENANCE FOR HIS CRIMES.

BUT he, when he had heard, at first indeed stood looking down (*to the ground*), then he flung away the arms; then, trembling, he wept bitterly. And he clasped the old man as he came up, pleading for pardon with lamentations, as well as he could; and on this second occasion, baptized with tears, concealing his right hand only (δεξιάν χειρα, *as the instrument of his late evil life*). But the other (ὁ δε εγγυαομένος, ῶμενος, from εγγυη, bail) pledging himself

swearing that he has found forgiveness for him with the Saviour, supplicating, falling-upon his knees, kissing his right hand, as purified by penance, conducted him back to the church, and entreating (*God*), with frequent prayers, and struggling along with him in long continued fasts, and soothing his mind with various persuasive-effects of words, he did not go away from him, as they say, ere that (πρότερον πρὶν) he restored him to the Church.

PERSECUTION UNDER TRAJAN (*M. Ulpius Crinitus, who had been adopted by Nerva, the Emperor*—(MARTYRDOM OF SIMEON, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM—JUSTUS, HIS SUCCESSOR.

AFTER Nero and Domitian (*last of the twelve Cæsars,* μετὰ, *with the accusat., strictly signifies motion towards the middle, into the midst, then motion after; hence succession either in place or time* AFTER), in this (*Emperor's reign*) κατὰ Τοῦτον, whose times we now are reviewing, a report prevails that a persecution was excited against us from a rising of the population in particular parts, and throughout (κατα) the cities, in the which we have received it (*learned*), that Simeon, the son of Clopas (who, we have made it appear, was appointed bishop over the Church in Jerusalem), had ended his life by martyrdom. Now, having been calumniously prosecuted by the heretics (*lit. the heresies*) before Atticus, a man of consular power, and treated with indignities, and for several days he testified *Christ*, so that (ὧς) all, and even the consul (deputy), exceedingly marvelled how *one* attaining one hundred and twenty years *of age* endured (*the suffering*). And he was condemned to be crucified. So, then (ἀλλὰ) Simeon being taken off in (κατὰ, *understood*) the manner shown, a (τις) Jew, named Justus, succeeds to the seat of the bishopric, at Hierosolȳma. (*Jerusalem, called Salem, Solyma-Jebus, and by the Turks, its masters, Chutz or Gotz, destroyed by Titus, who destroyed* 110,000, *and sent* 97,000 *into banishment.* It was rebuilt by Adrian (Ælius).

ST. IGNATIUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH, IS SENT TO ROME, TO BE EXPOSED TO WILD BEASTS.

THERE flourished, indeed, among these (*the people of this time*), Ignatius, who had been appointed to the bishopric at Antioch,

second of the succession of Peter ("second in succession after Peter"). Now, a tradition holds that he, when he had been sent up from Syria (*ἀναπεμφθεντα, as to a superior tribunal*) to Rome, was thrown to wild beasts to be devoured (*had become the food of wild beasts*), on account of his testimony for Christ. But he writes a letter to the Church of the Romans, in which he urges even an entreaty (petition) that they would not, by praying off his death, deprive him of the wished-for hope of martyrdom. Now, then, he writes, as may be read thus:—

Letter of Ignatius to the Faithful at Rome.

From Syria on to Rome I fight with wild beasts, by land and sea, by night and day, tied down with ten leopards, that is, a troop of soldiers, who, even treated with kindness, became more unkind; but by (in) their unjust behaviour I am the more instructed, yet not in this have I been justified. I would have joy from those beasts that are ready for me, which I even pray that I quickly find (*to be quickly found*, lit. *ευρεθηναι*), which I shall also adulate (*encourage*) to devour me quickly, not as they have not touched some persons, through timidity. And even though they now should be reluctant and unwilling (*ἄκοντα μὴ θέλη*), I will constrain them *to it*. Give me a friendly interpretation (*συγνῶμην*). I know what is expedient for me. It is now I begin to be a disciple. May nothing of things visible, or of things invisible, so ardently affect me (*see Ecclesiastical Lexicon upon ζήλοω*) as that I should not win Jesus Christ. Let fire, and the cross, and the assaults of beasts, and the scatterings of my bones, and the breaking up of my limbs, the bruising of my whole system (*body*), the punishments of the Devil, come upon me, *provided* only that I gain Jesus Christ.

Howbeit, after the death of Ignatius, Heros succeeds to the episcopacy of Antioch.

ST. POLYCARP, BISHOP OF SMYRNA—HIS VOYAGE TO ROME—HIS HORROR OF HERESY.

THERE flourished, indeed, among the men of this period (*κατὰ τούτους*), in Asia, a pupil of the apostles, who had been appointed

(ἐγκειοιζῶ, from ενχειρ) to the bishopric of the Church in Smyrna, by the eye-witnesses and ministers (*servants*) of the Lord. And when he (*the spirit of our language requires* ὄντος *for* ὃς *here*) during the bishopric of Anicetus, had come on a visit to Rome, he turned many away from the heretics to the Church of God, proclaiming that he had received from the apostles the sole and only truth—the one handed down by the Church. And, upon another occasion, now Polycarp replied once to Marcion, when he had come into his presence, and had said: Make our acquaintance. I do know and make thy acquaintance as the first-born of Satan. So much pious circumspection (εὐλάβειαν) did the apostles and their disciples exert, so as not even to the amount of speech would they hold any intercourse with any of those that put a wrong stamp on (*adulterated*) the truth.

THE PEOPLE CLAMOUR FOR THE DEATH OF POLYCARP—HE LEAVES SMYRNA, AND RETIRES TO THE COUNTRY, IN DEFERENCE TO THE ENTREATIES OF HIS FRIENDS.

In the reign of Marcus Aurelius (*Antoninus, seventeenth Emperor of Rome*), indeed now, when the heaviest persecutions shook Asia with the commotion, Polycarp dies by martyrdom. But they particularly record that after the distinguished death of Germanicus, a (τίνος) most noble *martyr*, the whole multitude, in great admiration (ἀποθαυμάσαν) of the divine martyr for his fortitude (ἐνεκα *understood* ανδρείας), and the brave-virtue (ἀρετὴν) of the whole stock of the Christians, began to shout altogether: Away with (αἶρε) the impious (*the deniers of our gods*)—let us have Polycarp (*let Polycarp be sought after*): but that the most wonderful Polycarp continued to retain an orderly and unruffled decorum of manner, and that he was disposed (βούλεσθαί) to persist staying there in the city, and that being urged, yea by his intimate friends (τοῖς αμφ' αὐτὸν) entreating and beseeching him to withdraw secretly (ὑπεξέλθοι), he had retired to a farm not far remote from the city, and staid there doing no other thing by night or day than continuing in prayers to the Lord.

THE SAINT IS DISCOVERED IN HIS RETREAT—HE REJECTS ESCAPE WHILE IT IS YET IN HIS POWER.

Now then, when those that searched him out with all diligence applied themselves to it, they tell us that, being constrained by his brethren, he removed to another farm. Thither, not very long after that, those who were in pursuit of him came, and seized two boys (δύο τῶν παίδων) there, the one (θάτερον) of whom when they had beaten, that they by his means came upon (επιστηναι, *intransitive part. of the verb*) the retreat of Polycarp; and that when they had entered *the house* in the evening, they found him sitting quiet in an upper apartment, whence when it was practicable for him to remove to another dwelling (*they tell—understood*) that he had not wished it, saying: The will of the Lord be done.

POLYCARP RECEIVES HIS PERSECUTORS WITH KINDNESS, SEATS THEM AT HIS TABLE, AND SURRENDERS HIMSELF AFTER OFFERING A PRAYER TO GOD.

And now, having learned that they were come, he came down and discoursed with them (καταβὰς αὐτοῖς διελέξατο) with very cheerful and placid aspect, so that even they, previously unacquainted with the man, appeared to see a miracle while contemplating him, so venerable in age (*his* age, ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ) and so venerable and staid in (*of*) countenance, and that (εἰ γένοιτο *tantum studii adhiberi*) so much earnest effort was used for having an old man of such description arrested. But he without delay immediately directs a table to be laid for them, then he invites (*desires* ἀξιοῖ) them to partake of plentiful food, and requests of them a single hour that he might pray without interruption. Now, when they had permitted him (επιτρεψάντων) he stood up and prayed (ἀναστὰς ἠυχετο), being full of the grace of our Lord; so that they who were present and heard him praying were strongly affected, and many of them regretted now that (*at the* FIAT *of*, ἐπι τῷ) this venerable and godly old man was to be put to the death.

POLYCARP IS TAKEN TO SMYRNA.

Now, when at last (ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε) he had done the prayer, in which he had made reference both to all them that ever had met with (*communed with*) him, both humble and great, both distinguished and obscure, and all the Catholic Church throughout the world, when the hour had arrived for his departure, having set (or *seated*) him upon an ass, they conducted him to the city, being the great day of the Sabbath. And there met them, Herod the Irēnarch (*an officer whose designation was, haply*, taken from ἄρχων εἰρήνης, the word being only reversed. See *Septuagint*, Isaiah, ix. 6.—JUSTICE OF PEACE), and his father Nicetes, whom when they had also (i.e., *as well as paid him the courtesy of going to meet him*) set with them in the chariot, kept urging as they sat beside him, and saying: Why, what harm (*evil*) is it to say Lord Cæsar, and to sacrifice, and to get safe? But he at the first did not answer; however, when they waited in expectation, he said; I do not mean (*I am not going*, οὐ μέλλω) to do what you advise me. But when they had failed to persuade him, they uttered harsh words, and with hurried-impulse (σπουδῆς) they hurled him down, so that in his descent (κατίοντα) from the chariot he broke his leg. But however, indeed, being turned about towards them (ἐπιστραφεὶς 2 a. part. pass. See Matt., ix. 22; Mark, viii. 23; John, xxi. 20), as if having suffered nought, he cheerfully proceeded on the way with haste (*eagerly*, μετα σπουδῆσ), being brought along to the stadium (or *circus in which the public games or sights were exhibited, so called because the Olympic course was a stadium in length*, i.e., 600 *Greek feet*, *or* 625 *Roman feet*, *equivalent to about* 604½ *feet*, *or* 201½ *yards English*, *the proportion of the Greek foot to the English being nearly as* 1007 *to* 1000, *and that of the Roman foot nearly as* 970 *to* 1000, *or about* 11·6 *English inches*. The Roman mile contained *eight of these stadia; and ten stadia are equivalent to the modern geographical mile of sixty to the degree.*

FIRMNESS OF POLYCARP BEFORE THE PROCONSUL—HE DECLARES HIMSELF A CHRISTIAN.

Now when there was so great a commotion in the stadium that many could not hear (*that it could not be heard by many, litt.*),

this voice came from Heaven to Polycarp as he entered into the stadium: Have courage, Polycarp, and be a man. And yet no man saw him (*the person*) that spake, but many of our people heard the voice. When he was therefore brought up (*to the tribunal*), there was a great uproar of those who had heard that it was Polycarp that was arrested. Then the proconsul put the question to him as he advanced further (λοιπὸν, κατα το), whether he were Polycarp; and when he acknowledged *his identity*, he sought to persuade him (ἔπειθεν, as in Acts, xviii. 4, ἔπειθε τους Ἰουδαίους. II. Cor., v. 11) to deny *his faith*, saying: Have respect for (*lit., be impressed with reverence for*) your age; and other things in accordancy to these (τούτοισ ἀκόλουθα), which is usual with such persons (τούτοις *for* τοὶς αυτοὶς) to repeat: Swear by the fortune of Cæsar. Show sorrow for your unbelief TO THE GODS. Say: Away with the godless. But Polycarp, looking upon the whole crowd in the stadium with a severe expression of countenance, shaking his hand at them, groaning and looking up to Heaven, he said: Away with the godless. But when the leading man (*Proconsul*, ἡγεμὲνος) pressed and said: Swear, and I will release you. Revile Christ! Polycarp replied. Eighty and six years I am His servant, and He has never wronged me in aught: and how can I blaspheme my King that saved me? But when again he persevered and said: Swear by the Fortune of Cæsar, Polycarp replied: I am a Christian, but if you wish to learn the explanation (λὸγον) of what a Christian is (χριστιανισμοῦ), appoint a day and hear. The Proconsul said: Persuade the people *to it;* and the Proconsul added: I have the beasts *at hand;* to them I shall have you thrown, if you do not show sorrow, and change of your unbelief (εὰν μὴ μετα νοήσὶς, *repent*). But he said: Direct them to be sent for (*call them*); for with us repentance is not to be brought about (ἀμετάθετος, from a, *not*, and μετατίθημι) from things better to things worse. But it is excellent to change from the vicious to the just. And he again *said* to him: I shall cause you to be tamed by fire, if you despise the beasts, unless you change your mind (*repent*). Polycarp said: You threaten fire that burns for a moment, soon after extinguished; for you do not know of the fire of judgment that is to come, and of eternal punishment that is reserved for the impious. But why do you delay? Bring up what you please. So then, as he spoke these things, and more besides (ἔτερα πλείονα), he was filled with courage and joy, and his countenance was replete with grace.

THE PEOPLE CLAMOUR TO HAVE POLYCARP EXPOSED TO THE LIONS —THE PROCONSUL REFUSES TO COMPLY WITH THEIR DESIRE.

THEN the Proconsul (*ανθύπατος, αντὶ* and *υπατος, the consul. For this word and ἡγεμῶν, see note*) sent a herald to proclaim three times in the middle of the stadium: Polycarp has openly avowed himself to be a Christian. When this (*proclamation*) was read by the herald, the whole multitude of Gentiles and Jews that dwelt in Smyrna began to shout (*εβοᾶ*) with fury and a loud voice: This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the subverter of our gods, that teacheth many not to sacrifice nor to worship. Saying this, they kept shouting and asking Philip, the Asiarch, to let loose the lion upon Polycarp. But he said that it was not permissible for him BY THE LAW, since (*as*) he had been exhibiting the beast games *in the stadium* (*to which duty he was confined*).

NOTES.

ανθυπατος—*ἡγεμῶν*—*governor*, *president*, *prefect*, of a Roman province, whether proconsul, legate, or procurator. Augustus made a new partition of the Roman provinces of the Roman empire, into *provinciæ senatoriæ* and *provinciæ imperatoriæ vel Cæsarianæ*, *επαρχίαι του δεμου vel καὶσαρος*, the former being left under the nominal care of the senate, while the latter were under the direct control of the emperor. Of the latter kind were Syria, including Phœnicia and Judea. To the former the senate sent officers for one year, called *proconsuls*, *ἀνθύπατοι*, though sometimes only of prætorian rank. They had only *a civil power*, and *no military command*, nor authority over the taxes, both these latter being under the care of persons appointed by the emperor. Those sent to command in the *Provinciæ Cæsarum* were called *legati Cæsaris pro consule*, *proprætores*, legati *consulares*, etc. They were usually, but not always, chosen from among the senators, during the pleasure of the emperors, and had much greater powers than the *ἀνθὺπατοι*, or *proconsuls*. Such was Cyrenius in Luke's Gospel, ii. 2. In all those provinces of both kinds there was besides an officer called *procurator Cæsaris*, who had charge of the revenue, and also had a judicial power in matters of revenue,

chosen from the *equites*, but sometimes *freedmen*, *libertini*. Sometimes a procurator discharged the office of a *governor* or *president* in a small province, or in a portion of a large province where the president could not reside. So did *Pilate*, who was procurator of Judea, which was annexed to the province of Syria. Hence, he had the power of punishing capitally, which procurators did not usually possess. So also Festus, Felix, etc. For more, see *Adams' Roman Antiquities* and *Rob. Eccles. Dict.*

POLYCARP IS CONDEMNED TO BE BURNED ALIVE.

THEREUPON it pleased them with one accord to clamour vehemently (*επίβοῆσαι*) that they burn Polycarp alive. So then this was done with greater speed than it was spoken (lit., *with so great speed sooner than it was spoken*) the crowds instantly collecting from the workshops and the baths, wood and dry brushwood (*φρύγανα α φρύγῶ, φρύσσῶ*), the Jews especially giving their coöperation readily to this, as is their custom. Howbeit, when the fire (i.e., *as kindled and burning*) was made ready, loosing his girdle, he tried also to unbind his sandals, not doing (*being in the habit of doing*) this before by reason that (*διὰ τὸ*) every one of the faithful was eagerly striving *to see* which should sooner touch his body; for, on every *occasion*, even before his old age (*his gray hairs*), he had been honoured on account of his excellent self-government. Now, when they were going to bind him down with nails (*προσηλοειν οῦν*), he said: Leave me thus; for he who gave me to await the fire, will grant me also (*away from your security from the nails*) that I courageously endure the fire. Then they nailed him not down, but they tied him with ligaments.

PRAYER OF POLYCARP UPON THE PILE.

BUT putting his hands behind (i.e., *when he had put his hands behind by his own consent*), and being tied to *the stake*, he said: Thou Father of thy beloved and blessed Son, Jesus Christ, by

whom we have received the knowledge of thee, the (*thou*) God of angels and of powers, and of all creation (κτίσεως from κτίζω, *kindred with* κτάομαι), and of all the race of the just that live in thy presence, I bless thee, because thou hast deemed me worthy of this day and this hour to take a participation in the number of thy martyrs, in the chalice of Christ, unto the resurrection of the eternal life of the soul and of the body. For this and for all things I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee, through the everlasting Chief-priest, Jesus Christ, thy beloved Son, through whom be glory to thee along with him, in the Holy Spirit, both now and for ages to come (*in secula seculorum*, εἰς τοὺς μελλοντας αἰῶνας.

THE FLAMES RESPECT THE MARTYR—THE ENRAGED POPULACE COMMAND THE EXECUTIONER TO PIERCE HIM WITH HIS SWORD.

Now, when he had repeated the *amen* aloud, and had finished the prayer, the firemen (ὅι τοῦ πυρὸς) kindled the fire, then, when a great flame shone out, we, to whom it was permitted to see it, beheld a thing wonderful. For the fire, forming the similitude of an arch, as when a ship-sail is filled by a bellying blast, surrounded the martyr's body in a circle. And towards the centre *of the pile*, it (*the object there*—he) was not as flesh roasted, but as gold and silver purified-by-fire (πυρουμενος) in a furnace. And then we inhaled so great fragrance as of breathing incense, or of some other of the precious spices. At the conclusion (*finally*), then the impious seeing that the body was not able to be destroyed by the fire, commanded the public executioner (*properly, of wild beasts*) that he should approach and (*approaching him he would*) plunge the sword in him; and when he had done this, there rushed forth a quantity (*fulness*) of blood, so as to extinguish the fire.

MARCUS ANTONINUS AURELIUS CÆSAR—MIRACLE OF THE THUNDERING LEGION.

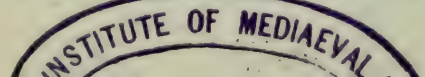
Now, the tradition holds that Marcus Aurelius Cæsar (*Antoninus*, seventeenth emperor), brother *by adoption* of (*Lucius Verus Commodus*) Antoninus, *eighteenth emperor*, being arrayed

in battle against the Germans and Sarmatians (*al. modern Polonia, Russia, Muscovy, and most of Tartary*),when his army was pressed by thirst, he was in great straits (*in perplexity*); but that the soldiers of (*in*) the so-called Meletine legion, which holds together through the strength of faith from that *time* until now, pending (εν) the ordering of battle against the enemy, having knelt down upon the ground, in conformity to a usage of prayer familiar among us, had turned themselves to supplications to God. But when such a wonderful sight appeared extraordinary to the enemy, the tradition prevails that another occurrence (something) far more extraordinary had seized their attention additionally: a thunder-storm on the one side (μεν), driving the enemy into flight and destruction; but that a storm of rain fell upon the army of those that besought the divine *aid*, refreshing it throughout, when it was about to be cut off by a thirst such as was never before felt—ὅσον ουπω.

LUCIUS ANTONINUS VERUS COMMODUS, *not* "MARCUS AURELIUS"—PERSECUTION IN GAUL—MARTYRS OF VIENNE AND LYONS.

In the reign of *Lucius* Verus *Commodus* Antoninus (*eighteenth emperor, brother of Marcus Aurelius Cæsar Antoninus, last-named emperor* (*seventeenth*), *both adopted sons of Antoninus Pius, Antoninus* being the *gens* common to the three, and marking the *nomen*, the first names to each marking the *prænomen* and no more, and the other names marking the *cognomen* and *agnomen*, and also marking the *familia*, many of which last might belong to one *gens*. Thus, in *Cornelia gens* of ancient Rome, the *familiæ* (families) of the *Scipiones, Lentuli, Cethegi, Dolabellæ, Cinnæ, Syllæ*, etc., *e.g.*, in the case of *Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus*, Publius marked the individual, *Cornelius* the *gens*, embracing many *families* by blood or adoption, *Scipio* marking the *cognomen* and the *familia*, and *Africanus* the *agnomen, or additional name given for some supereminence*). In the reign of *Lucius* Antoninus Verus *Commodus*, persecution excited tumult in Gaul, whose distinguished chief cities, and supereminent above the others there (of those there), Lyons and Vienne, have been celebrated; through the whole region (district) of both which the circumfluent Rhone with copious stream ranges.

And first now the blessed martyrs endured nobly the *sufferings* accumulatively inflicted by the people in common (*universally*, πανδημεὶ, *passim*, *vulgo*, *publice*)—shoutings, and stripes, and draggings, and plunders, and peltings of stones, and incarcerations. Afterwards then, when they were brought before the president (GOVERNOR, PREFECT, of a *Roman province*, whether PROCONSUL, ανθύπατος, *sometimes only of prætorian rank*, LEGATE or PROCURATOR, επιτρόπος, *as Pilate in Judea. These words* have reference, as stated *in a note already, to the partition of the Roman provinces by Augustus into* PROVINCIÆ SENATORIÆ and PROVINCIÆ IMPERATORIÆ *vel* CÆSARUM, the former being nominally under *control of the senate, the latter directly under the emperor—such as Syria, including Phœnicia and Judea. Their* ανθυπατοὶ *had no military command nor authority over taxes; not so the* PROCURATORES CÆSARIS. *The procurators of Judea, annexed to the province of Syria, discharged the office of governor or president in the person of Pilate we know, and in that capacity exercised the unusual power of punishing capitally*)—and when he exercised against us (*our people*) every *variety of* cruelty, Vettius Epagathus, one of the brethren, possessed of an immense supply of love towards God and towards his neighbour, whose system of self-government also had been perfect so far as that, though being a young man, he is pronounced equal to (*in*) the high religious character (*certification* of *praise*) of the Elder Zacchary (*several of this name are mentioned in the Scriptures: First, the father of John the Baptist, a priest of the class of Abia—Luke*, iii. 1, 5, 12, 13, 21, 40, 59, 67. *Secondly, one killed in the temple, probably the son of Jehoida, called also Barachias, who was stoned by order of Joash*—see *Math.*, xxiii. 35, and *Luke*, xi 51. *Thirdly, Zacchariah, son of Barachiah—Zech.*, i. 1. *Fourthly, Zacchary, son of Barach, who was slain by the Zelotæ in the temple, just before the destruction of Jerusalem, and he, mentioned by Josephus, is probably meant here*), he was not able to endure, ἐβαστασεν, the judgment passed unjustly against us (*in our regard*, καθ' ἡμῶν). But he was excessively indignant, and he claimed that he also (αὐτος, *subject to infinitive mood, when referring to subject to principal verb*) be heard in defence of (*pleading for*) the brethren, to prove that there is in them nought irreligious or impious. Now, when the *persons* around the tribunal shouted against him, for he was a man of distinction (επίσημος, "domi nobilis"), and when the president would not entertain the just claim thus set forth (*advanced*) by him, but only asked this question—whether he was



a Christian—and when he professed it with a very loud voice, he was also borne off to the inheritance (*lot, portion*) of the martyrs (*for* κλῆρὸς *see any Ecclesiastical Dictionary*).

SANCTUS, MATURUS, ATTALUS, AND BLANDINA, THE PRINCIPAL VICTIMS OF THE PERSECUTION.

Now (δε *sed, vero*) the universal fury (Ορῃη, *not* μηνὶς) of the populace (*not* PEOPLE, ὄχλου *not* λαός, *which latter means a regular assembly*) and of the president (*see former note upon this word*) and of the soldiers fell disproportionately upon Sanctus, the officer of Vienne (διάκονος ὁ *vel* ἡ *minister in administrandâ republicâ, vel familiâ vel ecclesiâ, specialiter* DIACONUS, *præfectus ærarii ecclesiastici*, in another sense, Ang. *Deacon*—"*an officer in the primitive Church, who had charge of the alms and money of the Church; an overseer of the poor and the sick; an* ALMONER"), and upon Maturus, a very neophyte, yet a noble *Christian* wrestler, and upon Attalus, by birth of Pergamus, who had been ever the pillar and support of our people there (*of our Church*), and upon Blandina. Now Blandina was filled with such a spirit of strength (δυναμεῶς), that they who tortured her successively, in every variety of way, from morning (*light*, λυκης) until evening (αμφιλυκὴς), were wearied (εκ λυῶ) and relaxed (παρῖημὶ), even they confessing that they have been conquered, having nothing more that they shall inflict upon her; and *that* they wondered (ὥστε) at her still continuing to breathe (*with breath*, εμπνοος—ους), when the whole person was mangled and opened; and they testified that an individual (ἕν) variety of the racking were sufficient for the extraction of life, much less (οὐκ ὅτι μεν ειπειν εχρὴ) so many or so grievous *torments*. But that blessed *one*, as a noble wrestler, was made young (*recovered youthful strength*, from ανῶ and νέος) in the confession, and it was a taking of heart on her part, and a respite, and an insensibility to the pain of the things that were befalling—to say (THE TO SAY, *spirit of Greek*) that I am a Christian, and with us there is no evil.

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COURAGE OF SANCTUS—HEATED PLATES OF STEEL ARE APPLIED TO HIS LIMBS.

Now Sanctus, he also answered in the Roman tongue to all the questions put: I am a Christian. This he confessed to be as well (*κάι, not meaning* BOTH *in this passage*), equivalent to name, as also to country, and equivalent to lineage, and equivalent to everything put together. But the gentiles heard no other expression of his. Wherefore also there was great eager-rage excited against him on the part of the president and the executioners. So that when they had nothing more to do to him, at the end (*κὰτα το τελευταίον*), they tied red-hot plates of brass (*χαλκεος ϐς εη-ὴ, εον ϐν*) to the tenderest members of his body: and so these were burnt. But he continued unbent and unyielding, firm for the confession, and bedewed by the heavenly fountain of the water of life, that comes forth from the body (belly) of Christ.

NEW TORMENTS OF SANCTUS—DEATH OF MATURUS AND SANCTUS.

Now, when after some days again the wicked were racking the martyr, and they supposed that if, while the flesh (*σῶματα* pro *σαρκες σῶματος ἀυτῦυ*) was still swollen and *inflamed*, they would apply again the same instruments-of-punishment, *then* they would be able to master (*be above*) him; or that by dying under the tortures, he would inspire terror in the rest (*λοιποῖς reliquis, not ἔτερος* nor *ἄλλος*), not only did no such thing happen in his regard, but also, contrary to all opinion, he rose (*got*) up (RAISED HIMSELF up, *proprie de avibus cum bibunt "surrigunt oculos et caput attollunt"*, i.e., *ανακὐπτοῦσι*) and his body was made erect in the after-torments, and he resumed the (*use*) exercise of his limbs, so that the second racking became to him, through the grace of Christ, not a punishment, but a *source of* healing. Finally (*κατα το τελευταῖον*), however, the blessed (*μακάριοι, a prose form for μακαρες poetice*) martyrs, Maturus and Sanctus, having woven a single crown of different colours and varied flowers, carried it to the father. For again in the theatre they went through every variety of punishment, as if having previously suffered nothing at all, nay, rather as if having over-

powered the adversary through a plurality of encounters, and now holding the conflict for his crown, they underwent again the repetitions of the scourges there (*in their direction*) familiarized, and the tearings by the wild beasts, and, in addition to all, the iron bed, upon which the bodies being fried (*roasted*, fr. τηγανον, *a frying pan*), inflicted the scent (κρατος, *understood*) upon them (*the victims*). Yet, not even so did the inflicters of the torture desist; but they were even still more infuriated, wishing to gain a victory over their firmness, and not even so did they hear any other *word* from Sanctus besides that expression of his confession which he had been accustomed to utter from the beginning. These then, after their life had held out a long way through a great struggle, were at last slaughtered.

FINAL SUFFERINGS OF ATTALUS.—HIS PRIVILEGE OF CITIZENSHIP DOES NOT PROTECT HIM FROM THE TORTURE—HIS LAST WORDS.

Now Attalus being vehemently (*loudly*) demanded *for punishment* by the populace, for he was a man of consideration, entered a ready membef of the lists (ἀγῶνιστὴς), by reason of an upright conscience, since he was sincerely trained in the Christian discipline, and amongst us had ever been a witness of the truth. And being led about in the circle of the amphitheatre (*built of an oval round figure for sword-players to play their prizes in, and wild beasts to fight in. The* THEATRE was but half *that circle with a stage, for plays to be acted in*). (*Here is a nomin. case without a verb! περὶαχθεὶς, etc.) a tablet (*covered with wax, being written on by the stylus that had one end sharp for impression, and the other flat for erasing*) going before him, on which it had been written in the Latin tongue: This is Attalus, the Christian: and when the people, greatly swelled *with rage*, in reference to him (*because of him* επ' ἀυτῶ *not* επ' αυτὸν, *nor* επ' αυτὸν), the president having understood that he is a Roman (*and so, by law, outside the pale of death, or scourging*) he commanded him to be taken-along (*not* UP, in this *passage*) with the others in the prison.

On the subject of whom he sent-word-by-letter (επέστειλε) to Cæsar, and awaited the sentence from him. But when Cæsar wrote-back-*word* that they be put-to-death-with-torture (ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι, *see Schiller's Lexicon*), but if any *persons* would deny

that such be dismissed safe, he (*President*) led them up to the tribunal, exhibiting-in-theatrical *mockery* and parading the blessed ones to the crowds. Now, when Attalus was set on the iron chair, and was roasted all round, and the burnt-savour was carried up from the body, he said to the multitude, in the Latin tongue: Behold, this what you do is to devour men, but we neither devour men, nor do any other evil *thing*. Furthermore, being asked what name God has, he answered, God has no name as a human being *has*. Now, after these (*words*, ρημαται), the president, gratifying the populace, again delivered up Attalus to the wild beasts. But when he had passed through in the amphitheatre all the instruments *invented* for punishment, and having underwent a very great conflict-of-peril, he was slaughtered at the end.

BLANDINA, AFTER HAVING ENDURED EVERY VARIETY OF TORTURE, IS GORED BY A BULL.

Now, Blandina was exposed as prey to (*of*) the wild beasts let loose (*driven out*) upon her, being suspended on a beam of wood. And when none of the wild-brutes then touched her, being taken down from the post, she was carried off again to the prison, reserved for another conflict. Howbeit, the blessed Blandina, last of all the martyrs, as a noble mother, having stimulated her sons and sent them forward conquerors to the King, she also, measuring over all the scenes of conflict of her sons, hastened to them, rejoicing and exulting in the departure, as if invited to a bridal entertainment, and not exposed to wild beasts. And after the scourges, after the wild beasts, after the frying pan, at the finale, being pitched into a wicker-basket, she was exposed to a bull. And having been tossed sufficiently, according to the *powers* of a living creature (or, *according to the caprice of the brute*), and when she retained no further sense of the incidents-around, by reason of the hope and holding-to the things-believed and the meeting-with Christ, she also was slaughtered, and while the Gentiles themselves acknowledged that never did woman, in their presence (*governing dative of person*, παρ' αυτοις) suffer such and so grievous *torments*.

SAINT POTHINUS, BISHOP OF LYONS, DIES IN PRISON FROM THE EFFECTS OF THE TORTURE.

Now the blessed Pothinus he entrusted with the administration of the bishopric in Lyons, being over ninety years of age, and very infirm in body, indeed scarcely respiring, owing to bodily infirmity—he, this same, was also dragged before the tribunal, his body having been indeed broken up both by old-age (*το γηρὰς, ατὸς, αὸς, ῶς*) and by distemper, but the spirit still continuing in him that Christ may triumph (*α θρὶοις αμβαινῶ, cum festa fronde incedere*) by its means. Who (*he*) being carried off by the soldiers before the tribunal, while the civic authorities escorted him, and the whole multitude of *them* that raised ever-varied shoutings, he gave forth an excellent (*valuable*) testimony. Being questioned by the president who the King of the Christians is, he said, if you be deserving you shall know. Afterwards then he was dragged mercilessly and suffered divers stripes, howbeit those that were near insulting him with hands and feet, and-not (*μηδε*) reverencing his great-age, and (*ὸε*, in connection with *μεν* above) they that were afar off, hurled at him what each one had in his hand, for they even supposed that they would thus avenge *the cause of* their gods. And Pothinus, scarce breathing (*alive*), was hurled into the prison, and two days after he expired.

PERSECUTION BY SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, *twenty-first emperor—Conquered* NIGER *with* 20,000 *men, and slew him—Avenged Pertinax, overthrew Artabanus, king of Persia, and Albinus, who was made Cæsar—Under him this, the sixth persecution of Christians—He was born in Leptis in Africa—He built the Picts' Wall in England, from sea to sea thirty miles—He was father of Caracalla, who endeavoured to murder him, and of Geta—He died at York in England—It rages principally in Alexandria—Martyrdom of Leonida, father of Origen.*

Now when Severus also awakened persecution against the churches, brilliant martyrdoms of the wrestlers for godly-love were accomplished in all the churches, *without exception*, at every

place. They were particularly numerous at Alexandria (*now Scanderon, west of the Delta in Egypt, built by Alexander, famous for the library of the Ptolemies, the which was burnt by the Caliph Omar in the seventh century, the volumes supplying fuel for six months to* 4,000 *baths*) when the champions from Egypt (*divided into the Delta and the upper Thebais*), and universal Thebais (*from its capital Thebes*) with the best chosen (αριστίνδην) at that place, were escorted as to God's greatest circus (*a measure of distance* 600 *feet Greek, or* 625 *Roman, same as* 604½ *feet or* 201½ *yards English.* It was called *stadium, because that was the length of the Olympic course*) investing themselves (αναδεμενῶν pres. part.) with crowns from God, by means of their most valiant endurance of varied tortures and modes of death: among whom also he that is called Leonidas, father of Origen, having been decapitated, leaves behind him this son quite young.

ARDOUR OF ORIGEN FOR MARTYRDOM—HIS MOTHER OBLIGED TO HIDE HIS CLOTHES IN ORDER TO RESTRAIN HIM FROM HURRYING TO DEATH.

Now, then, as the *pyre* of persecution blazed to a height (εἰς μεγα), so great a passion for martyrdom seized upon the spirit (*soul*) of Origen, being still very much a child, that he went forward to encounter the perils, and was eagerly affected to start forth and rush to the conflict. Then his mother, at first beseeching him with her words, implored him to entertain (λαβεῖν 2. f. act. inf.) a reverence for her motherly affection in his regard. But, observing him more earnestly bent *upon it*, when having learned (γνους) that his father was arrested and detained in prison, he was altogether engrossed in his earnestness about martyrdom, having concealed the (την) entire of his clothing, she imposed upon him the necessity of staying at home. But he, when nothing else was available to him to do, while his ardour was working *him* beyond his years, being unable (*such as* οἷός) to remain in repose, having composed a most exhortatory letter on the subject of martyrdom, sends it to his father, in the which, in such terms as these, he admonishes him, saying: Take heed that you change not your purpose (*think not any other thing*) on my account. For even already had he been initiated (*founded*) in no insignificant

materials of the words of *Christian* faith, having been exercised in the Holy Scriptures from his early childhood (ἐξέτι παιδὸς). For his father directed that, before the studying of Greek literature, he be practised in sacred subjects-of learning, apportioning for him lessons-by-heart and lessons-for-recitation, of every day. Now, these *tasks* were not distasteful *(distastefully)* to the boy. Yea, even (ἀλλὰ καὶ) most eagerly engaging himself on these subjects, so as that the simple and obvious subjects (ἐντεύξεις) of the sacred words did not suffice him, but he sought something more, and now after that diligently searched after some deeper contemplation, so that he gave his father some trouble, closely-questioning *as to* what then the purpose of the Heaven inspired Scripture could mean to show.

NOTES.

Ἆρα, A *particle, illative and interrogative.* As illative, as here it stands after *other words in a clause, and is written* ἄρα, *it marks transition to what naturally follows from the words preceding. As interrogative, it stands first in a clause, and as in prose and in the epic poets it is written* ἆρα, *in other poets, if the first syllable be long, it is written* ᾶρα; *if short,* ἄρα.

JOY OF LEONIDAS AT THE VIRTUES OF ORIGEN—HIS RESPECT FOR HIS SON—THE LATTER, AFTER HIS FATHER'S MARTYRDOM, IS SHELTERED BY A RICH LADY.

Now, his father was greatly delighted, and acknowledged the greatest gratitude to God, the effecter (τῷ αἰτίῳ) of all his blessings, in having vouchsafed him (ὅτι ἀυτὸν ἠξίωεν) to be (γενεσθαι *to be generatively*, εἰναι to be, mere generic term ; ὑπαρχέιν to be in principle, applying to God and first principles), the father of such a son as this (δε ATTICE *points to*), and *persons* assert (φασὶν) that oftentimes standing over the boy now as he slept (επίσταντα *act. 2. aor. part. from* ἐφίστημι, *in New Test. and Eccles. Books only intransitive in this tense and perf. mid.* ἐφεστῶς, *and pres. mid.* ἐφίσταμαι), he had bared his breast, as if the Divine Spirit had

been consecrated inside in it, and that he kissed it reverentially. They mention these *things*, and other *things* akin to them, to have occurred with respect to Origen while he was a child; but when his father had already been made perfect by martyrdom (*so as to win and receive its prize of glory*), Origen is left an orphan of eighteen years of age (ἐωτακαιδέκατον ἄγων ἔτος) with his mother and little (*smaller*) brothers, six in number. And when his father's property was taken (*escheated*) into the imperial treasury (*fiscus not ærarium*, the *public treasury*), being placed (*set* κατα-στὰς) in want of the necessaries of life, with his relations, he is counted worthy of help from Divine administration, and he has the good-fortune-to-receive (meet-with) kindness, together, and a place-of-rest at-the-hands-of (παρά) a (τινι) lady, very rich in the world (*life*, βίον, *with accent on first syllable*, βιόν, *a bow, with accent on final*), and in all else (κατα τα ἄλλα) very distinguished.

LABORIOUS AND MORTIFIED LIFE OF ORIGEN—HE FOLLOWS THE LETTER OF THE EVANGELICAL COUNSELS AS TO SELF-DENIAL AND POVERTY.

Now his employments, even they of ordinary occurrence (τὰ κατα πρᾶξιν), presented very wonderful *specimens* of most genuine wisdom. So then (γοῦν) such as his conversation, such they represent his character, and such as his character, such (*the same*) moreover also did he show forth his conversation. Then he continued for several years living in this sort of wisdom, and every day (διὰ πάσης ημερας) undergoing no inconsiderable labours of exercise, and *through* the greater portion of the night giving himself-up to the practice of the Divine Scriptures. One time, indeed, labouring in exercises without food (*with fasts*), but again by periods measured according to sleep; the which he made it a point to partake of not at all upon a couch, but upon the ground. But most-essentially of all was he impressed that those Gospel precepts of our Saviour ought to be observed φυλακτέας—*termin.* εος *in Greek corresponds to dus in Latin, as* τος *does to tus.; both coming from perf. pass.* 3, *p. s. of the deriv. verb*), namely, those that recommend coats not up to the *number* two, and not (μηδὲ) to use *two pairs of shoes.* But exhibiting even greater ardour than his age *permitted*, persevering in cold and nakedness

pressing to the chief point of exceeding poverty, he struck with wonder those around him to the highest effect (*he affected his intimates with emotion of extreme wondering amaze*). Well then he is said to have walked the Earth without having ever used a shoe at all, and also to have forborne (*to have been withheld*) from the use of wine and the other things contrary to (παρά, *other than*) requisite sustenance; so that at this period (ἤδη) he was on the point of falling into danger of ruining and distempering his chest (περιπεσεῖν, 1 fut. act., from περίπιπτω).

ORIGEN TEACHES PROFANE LEARNING, BUT SOON DEVOTES HIMSELF ENTIRELY TO THE INSTRUCTION OF THE CATECHUMENS—HE IS ORDAINED PRIEST.

Now having been first put forward by his father in the schoolings of the Greeks, and after his death addicting himself altogether more earnestly to the practice of liberal studies (περὶ τοὺς λόγους), so as also to possess a competent qualification in the knowledge of grammars, not long after his father's demise giving himself out as a professor therein (τούτοις *scil.* γραμματικοίς), he obtained a ready supply of necessary resources abundantly as in that age.

While he gives his attention to this pursuit as, methinks (που), he himself also records in writing; and when no one survived (*reclined at table*) to pay attention to *the nursing the faith* in Alexandria, all having been driven away by the threat of persecution, there attended certain of the gentiles upon him to be instructed in (*to be about to hear*) the Word of God. But Origen, owing to the pressure of necessity, having set out (*sent himself*) to Greece, by reason of church concerns, in his passage through Palestine, receives at Cæsarea, from the bishops there, the power of the laying on of hands (ORDINATION) of the (*that belongs to the*) presbyterate.

NOTE.

1. ELLAS.—*Greece, first the name of a city in Thessaly, founded by Hellen, son of Deucalion—Hom., Il.* 2, 683; *then of the adjacent portion of Thessaly, inhabited by the Myrmidons; afterwards the whole central part of continental Greece, as far*

north as to Thesprotia, excluding Peloponnesus and islands: HESIOD *and* HERODOT.; *so it is used in Acts*, XX. 2, *where it is distinguished from Macedonia. In the classics elsewhere it is the whole extent of Greece, including Peloponnesus, islands, Macedonia, etc., and so, as opposed to Asia Minor.* In Herodotus, Ephesus is said to be a city, εν τη Ἑλλάδι, though it was in Ionia.

Cæsarea-Philippi, city in Upper Galilee, near sources of Jordan, at foot of *mount Hermon*, called also *Paneas*, Matth., xvi. 13; Mark, viii. 27, etc. It was rebuilt and enlarged by Philip the Tetrarch, whose wife his brother Herod took, and whose daughter Salome, by Herodias, got her drunken uncle Herod to give her the head of John the Baptist. Philip *named this town in honour of himself and Tiberius Cæsar. It was ancient Laish, or Leshem. Not the above Cæsarea meant here. It is*

*Cæsarea-*STRATONIS, OR STRATONIS TURRIS, *in* PALESTINE, *on the coast of the Mediterranean, south of Mount Carmel. Herod the Great rebuilt it with great splendour and strength, created an artificial harbour, and called it after his patron, Augustus Cæsar, as Philip did the other one in honour of Tiberius Nero Cæsar. Josephus calls it one of the largest cities in Palestine,* AND SAYS THE INHABITANTS WERE MOSTLY GREEKS. It was the seat of the Roman *procurator, and after the destruction of Jerusalem, became the capital of Palestine.—See Acts*, viii. 40, ix. 30, x. 1, 24, xi. 11, xii. 19, xviii. 22, xxi. 8, 16, xxiii. 23, 33, xxv. 1, 4, 6, 13.

PERSECUTION BY MAXIMIN (*twenty-sixth Emperor*)—*principally directed against the chief pastors.*

MAXIMIN CÆSAR (*successor of Alexander* (NOT *Septimius*) *Severus, a Thracian by birth, of the lowness of which he was so much ashamed, that he slew any one about him who chanced to know it. He was eight and a half geometrical feet high; he was immensely strong, for he could kill a horse by breaking all its head with his fist; infinitely fearless, fierce, proud, and presumptuous, and inordinately savage and cruel; entered the service of war, etc., under Septimius Severus—lived with* ANTONINUS *Bassiarius—would not live with* MACRINUS—*detested the effeminate and profligate Helio-*

gabalus—gladly reëntered service under Alexander Severus, whom he succeeded as emperor. His daily food was forty pounds of flesh and sixty gallons of wine). Maximin Cæsar, upon having received (*by election of the soldiers after their murder of Alexander Severus*) the empire of the Romans, and having raised a persecution (*of the Christians, who were favoured by Alexander Severus*), commands the rulers of the churches alone, as accessary to the teaching of the Gospel, to be taken off (*by death*, TO BE SLAIN).

PERSECUTION UNDER DECIUS (*thirtieth Emperor of Rome*).

A WISE, *brave, and good man, if he had not malignantly and most cruelly established the seventh persecution against the Christians* through malice and *hatred of his predecessor, Philip, who was a Christian. Decius was born in Cabali, in Panonia or Hungary, —fought against the Goths, by whom he was slain,* A.D. 254. *A. ætatis* 50; *A. regni* 2.

SUFFERINGS OF ORIGEN—HIS DEATH.

WHEN Decius stirred persecution (*especially spiteful against Origen, as who had Christianized and baptized Philip the First and his mother and son, and had regarded him*) against the churches, what and how great afflictions Origen endured for the Word of Christ!—bonds and trials-by-torture (*properly* the LAPIS LYDIUS, or *touchstone* for *trying gold and metals*): the punishments, *I mean* those affecting the body, and those beneath the iron collar, and within the recesses of the prison, and the threats of fire, and whatsoever other grievances inflicted by his enemies, he manfully endured, ever so many letters of that remarkable-man embrace with equal truth and equal precision. But when Decius had been slain along with his sons (*his son (?) the young Decius, nominated at his father's request* Cæsar and his successor, who fell *in the battle with the Goths mortally wounded by an arrow a little before his father's miserable death in the same battle*), Origen dies after having filled up (ἀποπλήσας 1. *d.* from ἀποπλημι) *the measure of* seventy-nine years of life.

APOSTACY OF SERAPION.—*He does penance and dies in the peace of God, after having received the Holy Viaticum.*

THERE was one Serapion, an old man of the faith, who had passed a long period of life irreproachably, but had fallen under (*trial*). The same (οὗτος, *i.e.*, ὅ-αυτος) prayed-for-pardon, yet no one gave heed unto him, for he had even been a sacrificer *to heathen idols.* Howbeit, being involved in a distemper, he continued three days consecutively (δία, *scil*, τριῶν ἐξῆς ἡμερῶν) speechless and unconscious; but having recovered a little on the fourth, he called to him his daughter's-son (*grandson by his daughter*) θυγατριδεος-ους, *gen.* εδυδυ, and said: How long, my son, do ye detain me? Haste, I adjure you, and release me as soon as may be. Call me one of the elders (*Presbyters, in the Jewish Church they were members of the Sanhĕdrim at Jerusalem, joined with the* ὁί αρχιερέις και ὁί γραμματεῖς: *in the Christian Churches same nearly as* επισκοποι, *to whom was committed the direction and government of individual churches*), and having said this again, he was speechless. The boy ran off to the priest; but it was night, and he (*the elder*) also was sick. However, he committed to the little boy a small-portion of the Eucharist, bidding him to dip it in water and drop it in the old man's mouth. The boy returned with it (φερῶν), and when he was come nigh, ere he entered *the house*, Serapion reviving again, said: Thou art come, my son, and yet the elder was not able to come; but do you immediately your instructions (*the thing enjoined*). The boy wet the Eucharist, and at the same time put it in his (Serapion's) mouth; and when he gradually κατα, scil. μικρον μερος) swallowed it he immediately gave up the ghost (*expired*).

"PERSECUTION" (NOT "OF" BUT) UNDER "VALERIAN", THIRTY-THIRD EMPEROR.

ELECTED *by the Soldiers: virtuous and valiant, and at first a friend to Christians, though afterwards their bitter oppressor, the ninth persecution* OF *the Catholic Church having been under his auspices; he was taken a prisoner by the barbarous Sapor, King of Persia, who used to make the old Emperor's neck his footstool for mounting his horse, six or seven years; he had his eyes pulled out, and died of age and sorrow in a Persian prison.*

Exile of Dyonysius, Bishop of Alexandria, and his Companions.

Now Gallus (*who had betrayed the Emperor Decius*, and was the thirty-first *emperor*, *whereas Æmilianus*, thirty-second *emperor and predecessor of Valerianus, is meant here*) being put out of the way, Valerianus, with his son Gallienus, succeeds to the government (*after Æmilianus, not Gallus*). Now with regard to the persecution that breathed out most bitterly in his time (κατ' αὐτόν) what *sufferings* Dyonysius and others endured, by reason of his holy love for the God of the universe, his own words will set forth in refutation of a German bishop in his time (*exerting himself against a German of the bishops in his time*), who endeavoured to calumniate him, he *sets down in reply* to the following effect: I was come to Æmilianus (*emperor before Valerian*), but my co-presbyter (*fellow-elder*), Maximus, and certain ministers-of-the church (*alms-officers; overseers of the poor and sick; almoners;* under DEACONS) accompanied me. Now Æmilianus did not say to me introductorily (*ex antecedente*, TO USHER IN *his address*): Do not meet together (*do not hold meetings*), for this was superfluous, and the last thing to him (*in consideration of him*), hastening to that which was first and *principal*. For the object of his discourse was not about others not meeting, but about our not being Christians; and he enjoined cessation πεπαῦσθαι from this *worship upon me*, upon the supposition νομιζῶν that if I would change my mind (μετα βαλλοίμην, *mid. v.*) others also would follow my example. And I answered him not inapropos: It is right to hearken unto (*obey*) God rather than unto men. Æmilianus then said: The *ruling* lords have vouchsafed you the privilege of deliverance-from-destruction, if you be pleased to adore the gods that preserve their realm. Dyonysius answered: Well then, the One God, maker of all things, that put dominion into the hands of the sacred-and-reverend Augustuses, Valerian and Gallienus,—this same do we also worship and adore. Æmilianus, who administered the prefecture, said: I see that you are at once ungrateful and stupid as to the gentle-mercy of our Augustuses (*emperors*), for the which reason you shall not stay in this city, but ye shall be sent away unto the regions of Libya.

PEACE RESTORED TO THE CHURCH BY GALLIENUS.—NOTWITHSTANDING THE IMPERIAL EDICTS MARINUS SUFFERS MARTYRDOM.

But when, in no long time after, Valerianus was reduced to endure slavery among the barbarians (*from Sapor*), his son Gallienus, conducting-the-government-singly, behaves-himself more temperately touching his rule; and forthwith he relaxes by edicts the persecution against our people, commanding the chiefs of the word by rescript that they perform their customary duties in freedom and *security*. In their times, when the churches had peace universally, Marinus, by birth and wealth a man of distinction in Cæsarea of Palestine (*or Stratonis Turris, on coast of Mediterranean, south of Mount Carmel, contradistinguished to Cæsarea-Philippi of Upper Galilee, near sources of Jordan, at foot of Mount Hermon*), has his head cut off for his testimony of Christ, for (ἕνεκεν) the following reason. The order of promotion called Marinus to the dignity of the office of centurion.

Now (δε) there accuses him, just (ἤδη) as he was on the point of getting possession of the honour, another *person*, who came up before the tribunal, saying that it was not lawful, according to the ancient laws, for him who is indeed a Christian, and does not sacrifice to the sovereigns (*emperors*), to enjoy a dignity of the Romans. At the which that the judge was enraged, and asked of what *religious* opinion Marinus was: But that when the judge saw that he persistently professed himself a Christian, that he granted him a space of three hours for reflection. So then Theoctenus, the local bishop (*the bishop in that particular place*), addressing himself to him in conversation, as he was outside of the court (*prætorium*), and taking him by the hand, conducts him along to the church. And when he had set him at the very sanctuary inside, drawing aside a little his officer's cloak (or *chlamys*, or *paludamentum*), and displaying the sword that hung by his side, and at the same time he took and set before him the book of the holy Gospel, bidding him choose the one to his mind of these two. But when stretching forth his right hand, without hesitation he took the divine book. Cling to it, then, cling to God, says Theoctenus to him, and empowered by Him, may you obtain what you have chosen, and walk in peace. Soon after, as he returned thence, a cryer calling before the prætorium, summoned him aloud. And when Marinus stood

by the tribunal and exhibited even a greater ardour of *Christian* faith, being led off straight thence, as he was, he is made perfect in death (*by martyrdom*).

PERSECUTION BY (*not* "of") DIOCLETIAN, *the forty-second Roman Emperor.*

Distinguished for many brave conquests, but most distinguished, like Charles the Fifth, for having voluntarily abdicated his imperial throne, in the zenith of his glory, after a reign of twenty-two years, when he retired into the country and lived a private life—He orders the churches to be destroyed, and the Scriptures to be burned.

IT was the nineteenth year of Diocletian's reign, howbeit *it was* Lystrus, the same *month* among the Romans would be styled March (*see note*), at which *time*, as the festival of the Passion of the Saviour (*Salvation*) approached, imperial edicts had been universally set up (ἤπλωτο, *plup. pas., from* απλοομαι) commanding to level the churches to the ground, and that the Scriptures besides (δε *answering* to μεν) be burned (*be made to disappear by fire*). So then (*as a result*) we know of Christians that have shone forth in Palestine (*in Asia, called anciently* CANAAN and LAND OF PROMISE; *by* PTOLEMY, PALESTINE, *or country of the Philistines; and by Christians the* HOLY LAND: *contains Idumæa*, SAMARIA, JUDÆA and GALILEE—*capital*, JERUSALEM, but after *its destruction* CÆSAREA, *not* CÆSAREA-PHILIPPI, *but Cæsarea, called* STRATONIS TURRIS, *on the Mediterranean, near Mount Carmel*). We know, moreover, of others also in Tyre, *or Sur*, of Phœnicia (*its celebrated emporium younger than Sidon*, not mentioned by *Moses or Homer; denounced by the prophets of the Old Testament as full of wealth, pride, luxury, vice, idolatry, and wickedness: "the crowning city of the sea", i.e., Mediterranean; never subdued by the Israelites; in alliance with David and Solomon; besieged by Salmanasar, and afterwards by Nebuchadnezzar for thirteen years; possessed by the Babylonians and then by the Persians; when it* FURNISHED CEDAR FOR *the second temple; taken by Alexander the Great*, B.C. 332; *then ruined; rebuilt under the Seleucidæ and the Romans; commercial event in the time of the Crusades; degenerating after*). And we have ascertained *by personal ex-*

amination (ἱστορήσαμεν from ἵστ᾽ὦρ *sciens quod ab* ἴσημι *scio*) the power of Jesus Christ present with His martyrs (WITNESSES *unto death*), when the man-devouring beasts dared not, for a considerable time to touch nor come near the bodies of the lovers-of-God, yet rushed upon the others, such truly as from without (*i.e., unconnected with the faith;* ἐξῶθεν) incited them by provocations, yet oftentimes too dashed at the martyrs themselves so as (*to the extent of,* κατα ὅια) to be thrust back by some more divine influence, and to retire again to the hinder part *of the place of execution*, or *suffering*. You might then behold the full-grown-figure (ἡλικίαν) of a youth of not quite twenty years' *old*, standing without chains, and his hands spread out to a symbol of the cross, most devotionally engrossed (σχολαίοτατα τεταμένου) in prayers to the divine *principle* (θεῖον not θεον) while the bears and the panthers (σαρδάλις, εῶς, gen. plur. εών) breathed fury and death, and almost fastened upon his very flesh. Again, you might see others exposed to a wild ferocious bull, which, tossing into the air, would rend in sunder with its horns others of those without (*the unfaithful*) who approached it, leaving them to be removed half dead, but, though rushing upon the holy martyrs alone with fury and menacing-gesture, he was not able (*such as* ὅιος) to so much as approach them. However, then ultimately, they, all being slaughtered by the sword, are consigned to the waves of the sea instead of the ground and its burial-places.

NOTE.

The names of the Greek months were: Γαμηλιών, Januarius; Ελαφηβολιών, Februarius; Μουνυχιών, Martius; Θαργηλιών, Aprilis; Σκίροφώριών, Maius; Ἑκατομβαιών, Junius; Μεταγειτνιών, Julius (*Quintilis*); Βὅηδρομιών, Augustus (*Sextilis*); Μαιμακτηριών, September; Πυανεψιών, October; Ανθεστηριών, November; Ποσειδεών, December.

A CHRISTIAN TOWN IN PHRYGIA BESIEGED AND REDUCED TO ASHES.

WELL (γῦνν) at this time then (ἤδε τότε) armed-men investing quite round an entire small-town of the Christians in Phrygia

with the inhabitants themselves αὐτανδρον, and kindling the fire, burned them down along with infant-children and wives, while they called upon Christ the God OF ALL. Because, forsooth, all they that dwelt-in the city, and the curator himself, and the chief-magistrate, with all the men of (*in*) rank, and the entire populace, professing themselves Christians, did not in any particular instance obey those that commanded to offer-sacrifice-to-false-gods.

COMBATS SUSTAINED BY THE PRIESTS DURING THE PERSECUTION.

THEN indeed, as-a-consequence (*therefore*), ever so many rulers of the Churches, subjected to dreadful tortures, with cheerful spirit exhibited sights of great encounters;—one having his body disfigured with scourges, and another with rocks and insupportable tearings (ξεσμος, from εξεσμαι, per. pas. of ξεω); another taken-off half dead, was flung away, as if he *were* already dead; and a person (τις), again, prostrated upon the ground, was dragged a long way by the feet, and reckoned among them that had offered sacrifice (*the idolatrous*); and some one else kept-crying-aloud, and testifying with a clear voice, his denial of sacrifice; and another had called loudly that he was a Christian.

NOTE.

The nominative case comes after and before the infin. mood when attributed directly to the nom. to the principal verb. Virgil and the choicest Latin authors adopt it. It violates the Syntax rule, "QUOD OR UT", etc.

SELECTIONS

FROM

SOCRATES, SOZOMEN, AND THEODORET.

APPARITION of THE CROSS to CONSTANTINE (*the Great*), forty-fourth Emperor, and *first of the* CHRISTIAN *faith. Transferred seat of empire from Rome to Byzantium*, which was called after him *Constantinople* and *New Rome, for which reason the country of* THRACE *also was called* ROMANIA. *Killed his son Crispus at the instigation of Fausta his wife. Had he lived, he would have rooted out the heretic* ARIUS, *who denied the Son of God to be* ὁμοούσιον, *i.e., of the same substance with the Father. For the rest, see Note on Latin text.*

WE have received it that many things coincided to Constantine by which he was won over to pay reverence to the religion of the Christians, but particularly that miracle that was shown to him from Heaven. For when he had determined to wage war upon Maxentius, he was in doubt-and-uncertainty within himself, as is likely, how haply the *concerns* of the fight would eventuate, and who should be (*shall be*) his helper. But about noon, when the sun was now on the inclination, Constantine beheld in the Heaven, and *so did* the soldiers that were with him, the trophy of the cross composed of *shining, bright light* (φῶς *contr. for* φάος *from* φάω *to be bright with shining splendour*), and an inscription attached thereto, purporting *thus:* "Conquer in this". For this very (τοδε) miracle was presented to him on his journey as he set out with the army; and night came on him while he was considering what it could mean; and as he slept, *we are told*, that Christ appeared (*was seen by him*) with that sign that had been seen in the Heaven, and exhorted him to make an imitation of this, and to use it as a protection in the engagements with the enemies.

CONSTANTINE IS TAUGHT THE DOCTRINES OF CHRISTIANITY—DEATH OF MAXENTIUS.

At day-dawn Constantine having called together the priests of Christ, questioned them on the subject of *Christian* faith (*opinion*). But having put forward the Sacred Books *of the Scripture*, they explained the things that relate to Christ; and the sovereign, astonished at the prophecies on the subject of the Saviour, commanded ingenious men (*mechanics*) to fabricate to the figure of the cross, *set* with gold and precious stones, *a standard*, what is called among the Romans, Labarum, for the which *reason* particularly I am of opinion that Constantine changed that most distinguished symbol of the empire of the Romans into the standard of Christ, to the end that (ὥστε) the Romans should look-upon him only as their God, whom the sovereign also worships and uses as leader and helper against the enemies. Then however Constantine went-forward to his achievements with greater confidence-of-spirit, and having engaged with the enemies in sight of Rome, he wins a victory, Maxentius being sunk-and-drowned in the river. Now this was the seventh year of his reign when he won the victory over Maxentius.

A CHAPEL ESTABLISHED IN THE PALACE—CONSTANTINE ACCOMPANIED BY PRIESTS IN HIS EXPEDITION.

Now with-a-purpose-to-familiarize the soldiers to worship God in the same way as he himself did (ὁμοίως αυτῶ), he stamped their arms with the symbol of the cross, and he had an apartment for prayer (*chapel*) built within the palace, and whenever he engaged in an expedition against the enemy, he carried about with him a tabernacle fashioned to the likeness of a church, so that neither he himself, when he passed his *time* in desolate *parts* (ἐρημία), nor his army needed-to-do-without a sacred house in which it would be proper (*needful*) to celebrate God, and to offer prayer, and to go through the *holy* mysteries of *religion*. For priests and church-officers accompanied, serving (*attending-upon*) the tabernacle, who, in conformity-to the ritual of the Church, fulfilled the order *of duty* in regard to *such requirements*. Moreover, Con-

stantine honoured the day called the Lord's, as on this day the Lord had risen from the dead. But he held a very high veneration *for* the holy cross, owing to the Heavenly vision that was presented to himself on the subject of it.

THE EASTERN MONKS.

ST. ANTHONY.

Now they most particularly exhibited the Church very distinguished (*a negative giving the highest affirmation*), who at that time (τότε, *tunc temporis*) followed a monastic citizenship. But Elias the Prophet (*Elisha the Tishbite*), as persons say, originated (*founded*) this most excellent wisdom, and John the Baptist (*son of Zaccharias and forerunner of Christ, beheaded by order of Herod Antipas, at request of his niece, Salome, who was instigated by her mother Herodias, with whom Herod lived in incest, against the which John had preached. Herod Antipas was brother of Philip, who had built Cæsarea-Philippi, in upper Galilee, as tetrarch there*). But whether *it was* these or some others, that founded-and-practised this wisdom originally (ἐξ ἀρχῆς) this at least has been agreed upon among all *men*, that Anthony the monk elaborated this system of living (*life*) to a consummate *state* of completeness and perfection. Him (*whom*) then full-of-celebrity in the solitudes of Egypt, Constantine attached-to-himself as friend, and honoured him with his letters, and encouraged him to write to him about what *things* he needed.

Now he was by birth an Egyptian of the nobly born from the *village* of Coma. But having been left an orphan when a stout-little-fellow, he bestowed his father's lands upon the villagers, having placed apart his other chattels, he distributed the price among those in distress, for he perceived it to be *the part* of an earnest wise-man, not only to divest himself of wealth, but also to lay it out meetly.

HIS AUSTERITIES—HIS GIFT OF PROPHECY AND LOVE OF SOLITUDE.

Now his sustenance was bread (MEAT, *i.e.*, *every thing that man eats*) only, and salt (*everything that seasons food*); but his drink

was water (*whatever cleanses*), and his meal time the setting sun (*proper time to* EAT). Yet he oftentimes staid fasting (*without meat*) two days and more. But he kept ever watchful (*following the Saviour's words:* "*What I say unto you, I say unto all:* WATCH") whole nights, as *one* might say, and he was intent upon prayer until εἰς χρὸνον *scil.* της ἡμέρας day; but if haply he even tasted-of sleep, he slept a little instant upon a mat, but generally also lying on the ground, he made the same bare ground his pillow; moreover, he was particularly gentle, and most humane, and discreet, and courageous, agreeable to those that met-and-talked-with-him, and inoffensive to those with whom he disputed. Now for these excellent-gifts having been made full of divine prescience, he did not look-upon the foreknowledge of futurity as *his own* superior-gift. But neither did he himself endure (ἠνείχετο *pro* ἀνείχετο *from* ανεχομάι) to be idle; and he used-to-advise *such* as intended to live (βιοεν-οῦν from βίοω) correctly to occupy-himself-in-some-business, and to examine himself and set down an account of those things that he did by night and in the day; but if he committed anything that became him not, this he was to write out, that ever after he may keep himself from such transgressings, being ashamed of himself if he would find many *faults* indited. Now everybody considered it a high privilege (*valued it at a high consideration*) to see him and to hear him speak, and to obey his command (*him commanding*), whereas he, though being such a *person*, eagered to be unknown, and to escape notice in solitude. But if even by constraint he ever came into the city to aid those that required it, having regulated that on account of which he came, he returned forthwith to his retirement: for he used-to-say that the watery-state-of-existence sustains the fishes, but that solitude adduces ornament to monks; and that equally, as (ἐπίσης) they when they touch the dry *land* surrender life, these also get rid of their dignified-seriousness when they approach cities.

PAPHNUCIUS AND SPIRIDION.

Now among the bishops at that time were preëminent Paphnucius, of Upper Thebais (of EGYPT, *called from its hundred-gated city*, THEBES; *now called* THEVES, *formerly* HECATOMPYLOS), and Spuridion, the one of Cyprus (*called from its*

fertility THE HAPPY ISLE, *sacred to Venus, in the Mediterranean, between Syria and Cilicia; two chief cities,* SALAMIS *and* PAPHOS). For Paphnutius was a man so much beloved of God, that marvellous miracles were performed by him. His eye had been knocked out in the time of persecution. Well the monarch very much honoured this personage, and frequently invited him to the palace, and used to kiss the eye that was dug out. But with respect to Spiridion, so much piety (ὁσιότης, CONFORMITY TO GOD AND HIS LAWS, *and so contra-distinguished to,* δικαιοσυνη, CONFORMITY TO HUMAN LAWS AND DUTIES) had he while a shepherd *of sheep*, that he was also deemed worthy to be made even a shepherd of men; he (*who*) was appointed to the bishopric of one of the cities in Cyprus. Many *stories* indeed are told about him, but I shall mention one *only* or two.

SPIRIDION MIRACULOUSLY PROTECTED—HIS RESPECT FOR THE LETTER OF THE SCRIPTURES.

Now *people* record that evildoers came once by night to the fold of his sheep, and attempted to steal; that they were suddenly bound with chains, while no one bound them; and that when he had come at daybreak he found them in bonds, and that he released them from their invisible bindings, and blamed them in that when they could (ἐξόν) get whatever they wished for *by asking*, they chose rather to steal and incur-so-much-hardship in the night. So commiserating them then, however, but rather instructing them to transfer themselves to a better course of life, he said: Away-with-ye, and take this ram (*taking this ram*).

It is told us further, that the bishops of Cyprus had met on some *necessary* business, and that Triphyllius, a bishop, was along with them, a personage besides being (*renowned*) eloquent, also for the studying of the laws, who had stayed a considerable time in the city of the Berytians (*Berytus* was a *city* of *Phœnicia*, *vulgo* BARUTUM); but upon the collect being concluded, when Triphyllius having been invited (*directed, privileged*) to *address-some-words-of-instruction-to* the multitude, found-it-necessary (ἐδεήσατο) to introduce into the midst *of his discourse* that celebrated expression, take up thy bed and walk, he called it small couch instead of bed, changing the name. And Spiridion,

seized-with-indignation, said: Are you then, or not (*οὐ σύ γε; num.*), better than He who called it bed, that you are ashamed to use His words? and saying this, he jumped down from the priests' *high* seat, in sight of the people.

ST. ATHANASIUS—HIS YOUTH—HIS ORDINATION—HE IS PRESENT AT THE COUNSEL OF NICE—HIS ELEVATION TO THE EPISCOPATE.

They tell us that Athanasius, while yet very young, used-to-play a holy game with his other companions, and the same was an imitation of all that belonged to the priesthood. Now then in this entertainment Athanasius had been appointed to the dignity (*seat*) of the bishopric, but every one of the other young *persons* performed-the-part-of either an elder or a church-officer (deacon). The boys used to hold this entertainment on the day on which the memory of the martyr and bishop, Peter, used to be celebrated. Now then, Alexander, bishop of Alexandria (en passant), in passing through, is an eye-witness of the progressing play; and having sent for the boys, he inquired from them the place allotted in the play to every one *of them*, under the impression that something was presignified by what had happened; and he gave direction that the boys be brought up in the Church and get a literary education, but especially Athanasius. Then Alexander ordained him also deacon (church officer) when he had come to adult age, and took him to Nice, to aid him there *in whatever he could do* when the council was being made up. Alexander, the bishop of Alexandria, left Athanasius his successor. For being now arrived at the *time* of his release (*death*), he kept calling Athanasius, who was not present, by name, and the blessed Alexander used to say in a prophetic spirit: Think you, Athanasius, that you have escaped, but you shall not get off: intimating that he was called to the conflict.

ST. HELEN—THE DISCOVERY OF THE HOLY CROSS.

Helena (*born at Drepanum, in Bithynia, a place shaped like a sickle, δρεπανον, where she was engaged as an innkeeper; Constantius Chlorus loved and married her, but divorced her*

upon reaching the imperial dignity; Constantine, her son, withdrew her from her obscurity, and raised her to the dignity which she well became), the mother of Constantine, came to Jerusalem (*capital and centre of Palestine, called Holy City, as seat of true religion under the Jewish Theocracy; chief scene of Christ's ministry; lying on the confines of Judah and Benjamin, among the mountains, forty miles from Mediterranean, and twenty-five from Jordan and Dead Sea; called by Arabs El Cods, anciently Salem; originally Jebus, from whence Jebusites; by poets, Solyma. It was built upon three hills:* SION, *on south, highest, and contained citadel, palace, and upper city;* MORIAH, *lower, on N. E. of Sion, on it stood the Temple; and* ACRA, *north of Sion, destroyed once by Chaldæans, rebuilt by Jews after captivity, embellished by Herod the Great, destroyed by Titus, reërected by Trajan, who called it Ælia Capitolina, name restored by Constantine*), to offer prayer, and take a view of the places there. Howbeit being devoutly affected with regard to the religious-opinion of the Christians, she very particularly exerted herself to find the wood of the adorable (σεβασμίου same as σεβαστόυ) cross. Now neither was the finding of it nor of the Holy Sepulchre easy, for the Gentiles who had formerly persecuted the Church, zealously endeavouring by every contrivance to root-out the worship-of-God (θρησκείαν α θεος and αρεσκῶ) in its incipiency of growth, concealed its situation there under a great heap of rubbish. Yet the place was made apparent, as some *persons* say, by a Hebrew man, who had discovered it by means of a writing of his father. So then at that time, the place, according to the command of the sovereign, being cleared out to a great depth, the cave of the resurrection appeared (*tomb of Joseph of Arimathea*), but in another place, about the same situation, were found three crosses, and apart *from them* another wooden-tablet, on which, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin characters, these words were written: Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews. And these things, as the Sacred Book of the Gospels records, so happened to have been written above the head of Christ, when Pilate (*Pontius, fifth Roman procurator of Judea; Coponius being first, who was sent with Quirinus after the banishment of Archelaus; Marcus Ambivius, second; Annius Rufus, the third; and Valerius Gratus, the fourth; succeeded by Pilate,* A.D. 26. *Pilate in office ten years; hated by Jews and Samaritans, who accused him before Vitellius, then governor of Syria, who sent him to Rome, to answer before the emperor; Tiberius had died before he reached, Caligula banished him to Vienne, in Gaul, where he*

committed suicide, A.D. 41) commanded it, he that was governing Judæa as procurator. But while the holy wood *of the cross* was yet undiscovered, a circumstance in effect such as this happened: there was a (τις) lady in Jerusalem, a person of distinction, suffering under a most painful and an incurable distemper. To her, as she lay ill, came Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, taking along with him the sovereign's mother and some persons about him. And Macarius, having first prayed, and assigned as a token to the lookers-on, that the same was the holy cross, which, being set down upon her, shall release the woman from the disease. Howbeit, when two were applied, that circumstance appeared nought, but (ὅτι μὴ) nonsense and mockery, while the woman was at death's door. But when Macarius, in the same way, approached to her the third wooden-cross, the woman suddenly opened her eyes, and collecting her powers, forthwith she leapt up in sound health from the bed.

A PORTION OF THE TRUE CROSS SENT BY ST. HELEN TO CONSTANTINE —HER HUMILITY—HER LIBERALITY.

Now the greatest portion of the holy wood (*cross*) that was *then* found, continuing, in a silver repository, to keep still, even to this day, at Jerusalem; but the empress transmitted a part of it to Constantine, her son; not *it only* indeed, but also the nails by which the body of Christ had been pierced. Now about this time, the monarch having proposed (*determined*) to raise a temple to God, gave-direction to the chief men in that *part*, that a work, the most magnificent possible, and very sumptuous, be produced. But his mother, Helen, erected two (temples) churches, one in Bethleem, near the Cave of Christ's birth (*where Christ was born*) and the other at the summit of the Mount of Olives, whence he was taken up to Heaven. Many other *details* also point out the piety and holy-love of this *empress*. But not least so this following (τόδε), for it is told of her, then staying at Jerusalem, that she had invited to an entertainment the pious maidens *engaged about holy offices*, and became their attendant during the meal; serving (*setting on*) the meats, and pouring-out water for the hands, and doing the other *duties* that is usual for the attendants of those that give entertainments (δαίτομονῶν *from* δαις and τεμνῶ or, ATTENDANTS UPON GUESTS, *according to*

Latin text) to perform (*pres. infin. mid.*). Furthermore, after these things, when she had taken the circuit of the entire East, exercising the munificence of imperial power, she made innumerable presents to the populace in every city, and distributed with a profuse hand to military, bodies-of-troops. But the greatest amount of donations she gave to the poor and destitute (*naked*), making gifts of money to those, but to these plentifully supplying the means for personal clothing. And when she was conspicuous by such *benefactions*, she did not neglect her pious duty towards God, decorating the sacred houses with sumptuous ornaments, and not slighting (*passing by*) the temples, even in the humblest cities.

SIEGE OF NISIBIS BY SAPOR, KING OF PERSIA.

Meantime when Sapor, king of the Persians, led-his-battalia against the Romans, Constantine, having collected an army, proceeded to Antioch. Now, not the army of the Romans, but the God of some that lived-piously among the Romans, drove off (*overthrew*) the enemy. Nisibis (*in Diarbeck, under the Turk*) is situated on the confines of the government of the Persians and the Romans. James was bishop of this *city*, and *thence* he sent forth the beams of apostolic grace. The Persian army was-in-the-act-of-laying-siege-to a city under his *episcopal* government, subject-to the Romans. But after-having-laid-siege-to-it for seventy days, and having advanced several battering engines up to the wall, and having invested it with several other military engines, and having dug fosses, they (στρατος *scil.*) could by no means take the city. Ultimately, however, having stopt afar off the current of the river, which cuts the city in the centre, when they saw it swelled to a great height, they suddenly let it loose like a *battering* engine against the wall; then was the wall not able to sustain it, the shock being most violent, but was prostrated (*fell down*).

RAISING OF THE SIEGE—MIRACLE WROUGHT BY ST. JAMES.

Sapor, seeing *all* this, expected that he would master the city without a blow, and for that day he kept quiet that the river-mire

might be dried, and the channel become fordable; then that admirable *anchorite*, Ephraim (*of Nisibis*) entreated the man of God, *James*, that he be seen on the wall, and that the barbarians behold him, and that he hurl on them the weapons of an imprecation. So then upon this (οὖν δὴ) *the* holy personage yielded *to the request*, and got upon a (τινα) turret, and upon seeing the countless multitude, he uttered no other malediction, only (δε) prayed that fleas and bug-flies be sent upon them. Whereupon (δε) clouds of fleas and bugflies followed-close-upon-the prayer, and they filled the trunks of the elephants, that grew tube-like *out of the animals*, and the ears and nostrils of the horses. And unable to endure the attack of the insects, they burst away their bridles, and dislodged (*pitched-off*) their riders, and disordered the lines. Thus did that very unfortunate king, after having learned the power of the God of the Christians, retreat thence, reaping *as fruits* from the siege, disgrace and not victory.

CHARACTER OF ST. JAMES—HIS LIFE AS A SOLITARY—HIS PROMOTION TO THE SEE OF NISIBIS.

When James the Great was a young man, he embraced a tranquil and quiet life, and having reached the summits of the highest mountains, on them he stayed, using the thickets in spring and summer and autumn's close, and having Heaven for his roof; but a cavern received him in (κατα *understood*) the winter's season. Then he had for his sustenance, not what was sown and grown with toil, but what had sprouted and fruited spontaneously; for picking-off the natural produce of the woodland trees, and such of the herbs as were eatable and of vegetable character, from these same he administered to his body such *things* as were requisite for life, rejecting the use even of fire (και CONnects and τε, *as here*, ANnexes; τε *is the most general of all the copulatives, serving merely to show that the word after which it stands is to be taken as in some connection with another either preceding or following. The place of* τε *is usually after the first word of a clause, or, as in this instance, of a phrase, as contradistinguished from a proposition*). When he attained celebrity by (*in*) these *practices*, and was beloved by all, and was borne about on the tongues of all (*extolled by all*), he reaches to the office (*dignity*) of the high

priesthood, and obtains the bishopric of his native *city* (*place*). So having changed that mountain abode, and having adopted that station, though not to his taste, he made no change in his diet or in his dress.

PUNISHMENT OF A LIE—MIRACLES OF ST. JAMES.

And once indeed a party of pauper persons (τινες πένητες) encountered him, as he betook himself (ἑαυτον *understood*) to some village or city, exhibiting as dead a particular individual of their party (συνόντων), and craving that they receive certain necessary *helps* towards his burial. Now he complied with the *parties* that met him; but he offered up a supplication to God, as for the dead *man*, beseeching to forgive the delinquencies in (*during*) *that person's* life, and to hold-him-worthy of the company of the righteous. While these words were being enunciated, the spirit of him that recently feigned death fled away. But when the holy man went on a little way, those that got up this farce ordered the man that lay to get up; but when they perceived that he had no consciousness, and that the fiction became reality, then they beset James the Great, supplicating, and rolling themselves at his feet, and stating poverty to be the cause of the imposition that was dared; they kept-imploring him to absolve themselves from their iniquitiy (*literally, to loose the iniquity from themselves*), and to restore to the man that lay, the life that was taken away. Then James, imitating the mercifulness of the Lord, both accepted their supplication and showed forth a miracle, restoring to the man that lay, through *their* prayer, the life that was taken away by *his* prayer.

JULIAN THE APOSTATE (*forty-sixth emperor of Rome,*

Good, *bounteous, brave, and courteous, studious and learned, temperate, and hardy in war, perfect in almost all virtues, but an infidel and a hater of Christians, owing to the cruelties he had experienced from his Christian kindred of the house of Constantine; very artful in his deep hostility against Christians, whom in derision he called Galilæans*).

MARIS, BISHOP OF CHALCEDON—MARTYRS OF GAZA—ST. HILARION.

It is told us that Maris, Bishop of Chalcedon (*now* SCUTARI, *a mile opposite to Constantinople, on the Asiatic side. It was there the fourth General Council was held, to refute the heresy of Nestorius*, ANNO CHRISTI 453), visited Julian while offering sacrifice in the temple-of-the-public-genius (εν τυχείῶ, *a good or evil angel that heathens thought was appointed to each man to guide and defend or to punish him*, called *also* in *Greek* δαιμῶν, and by *Hor.* and *Pers.* NATALIS DEUS, and by MENANDER μυσταγωγός τε βίε) of Constantinople, and insulted him publicly as impious, and called him enemy of God and transgressing reprobate; but that Julian reproached the bishop with blindness only (*blindness alone to the bishop*), for he had come under guidance-of-one-who-led-him-by-the hand, as he was an old man and suffered from ophthalmic humours. When, moreover, also jeering in the style that he had been wont, uttering blasphemy against Christ, he said: Not even will your God, the Galilæan, *be able to* cure you. Maris said in reply: Still I give thanks to my God for this blindness, that it prevents me to behold (*so that I may not see*) you degenerated from godliness (ευσεβείας, *not* ευλαβείας). And the sovereign, without making further reply, passed out by him in haste. Now the populace (δεμος, *not* λαος) of those that ruled Gaza arrested some Christians that were concealed in their homes, and first they consigned them to prison, and *then* scourged them. And when they tore their flesh and fractured their heads, so that even the brain dropt on the ground, they brought them without the city (*Byzantium*), where they had been accustomed to fling the dead *carcasses* of irrational brute-beasts, and having lighted a fire they burned their bodies. At this same time, moreover, also Hilarion, the monk, being sought after by those of Gaza, fled to Sicily (*island, six hundred miles in compass, parted from Italy by Messina Straits; triangular, hence Triquetra and Trinacria, from* PELORUS, *over against Italy*, PACHYNUS, *towards Greece, and* LILYBÆUM, *in direction of Africa*). There then gathering wood from desolate mountains, and hawking it on his shoulders, he sold it in the city, and by this means he earned his daily bread (*sustenance*) wherewithal to live upon (κατα, *understood*, ὅσον, etc.). However, having been informed against—who and what he was—by a personage of the gentry who was possessed with a devil, after he had freed him (that person) from being possessed by the unclean

spirit, he passed into Dalmatia (*now Sclavonia, between Croatia, Bosnia, Servia, and the Gulf of Venice*). And when here also, he had, by divine power, performed very great miracles and of wonderful *character*, so as by prayer even to fix limitations (στησαι) to the sea (*whose tide overflowed there*); then again he departed, for it was not a matter-of-liking-with him to tarry amongst those that praised him. But by (*in*) the changing of places he was anxious to be obscure and to do-away-with the celebrity that prevailed in his regard (περὶ αὐτοῦ) by frequent variations of residence. Howbeit, ultimately sailing-by Cyprus (*fertile in vines, oil, alhenna, and minerals; sacred to Venus, whose temple was sixty stadia from Paphos, its chief city, on the western Mediterranean side; the station of a Roman proconsul*, ACTS, xiii. 6, 13. *Cyprus was in the Syrian Sea, or Levant; Salmais was its other famous city*), he put into Paphus, and being pressed-to-stay by him that was then bishop of the people of Cyprus. There he preferred-to-take (ἠγάπησε *expresses duty, respect, veneration;* φιλέω *includes the kind of love or affection expressed by* φιλημα, *a kiss; see* TITTMAUN'S GREEK SYNONIMS) his abode, and he cultivated philosophy (WISDOM: *knowledge, natural and moral, of things human and divine; in* NEW TESTAMENT, *it means the Jewish theology, or theological learning pertaining to the interpretation of the law and other Scriptures, and to the traditional law of ceremonial observances;* when spoken of Greek Philosophers, Epicureans, Stoics, Peripatetics, etc., it refers to their *inquiries and disputations respecting moral science*) round about (in the circle of) Charburis, a little place so called.

MARTYRDOM OF MARCUS, BISHOP OF ARETHUSA.

Now it was not among the people of Gaza ("*dict. a regiâ gaza, i.e., pecunia quam illuc quondam Cambyses Persarum rex vehi curaverat*". *This city on the sea coast of Mediterranean, not far from Joppa, divided Palestine from Egypt*) alone that the *circumstances* narrated above were dared against the Christians. For the Arethusians pitiably murdered (*ill-used*) Marcus, who was their bishop, when he was an old-old man (γηραλέον not γηραιον), venerable for his gray hairs and his *sanctified* life. Observing the populace incited against him, at first he attempted-to-fly (ἔφυγε), but having become cognizant that many were imperilled

on his account, he returned from *that attempt*-to-fly, and presented himself a volunteer to the mob for whatever they might choose to do to him (δραειν-ᾶν, *not* ποίειν or πρασσείν). But the entire populace (δημος, *much the same as* πληθος, *mob*, and ὄχλος, *but different from* λαος, *which embraced all ranks*) rushed violently upon him; and they dragged him through the streets, pushing and twitching and cuffing him on whichever member each one chanced to light. And that sport was eagerly prosecuted by men and women, and by every gradation-of-age, with zeal and rage, so far as to cut off his ears with their little cords. Boys moreover going to their teachers *to school*, made the occurrence a plaything (*a source of diversion*), and lifting him on high and rolling upon him, they pitched him between them, and received him again, and remorselessly wounded him with their writing instruments (*styluses*). But when he was wounded in his whole body, and yet had some respiration still, and having besmeared him with honey and pickle, and tossed him in a pannier, and this same an instrument woven all out of bullrushes, they raised him aloft. Whereupon then, as the wasps and bees lighted upon him and devoured his flesh, he is recorded to have said to the people of Arethusa that he was high, but he sees them abject and creeping upon the ground; and accordingly that *one* can conjecture (*infer*) what will result hereafter to himself and also to them. Well, then, so far that blessed man bore up nobly against the fury of the inhabitants of Arethusa and their many tortures (βασανους, *properly the* LAPIS LYDIUS, or TOUCHSTONE *for trying metals, found in river Tmolus in Lydia or Mœonia, now* CARASIA, *also the Loadstone—the one to draw iron, the other to try gold*), so as to have been praised even by the heathens themselves.

ATTEMPT TO REBUILD THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.

Now though the emperor hated the Christians, and was ill affected towards them, still however he was well disposed and gentle to the Jews, and he wrote to their patriarchs and leaders, and to the populace themselves, *requesting them* to pray for him and his realm. Moreover, also, he gave them some of the public money, and desired that they would reëdify their temple. So then they not having taken it into their mind (*not having im-*

pressed it on their mind) that it was not possible (ενεχῶρει, impers, εγχῶρει) that this could not happen in accordancy with the divine prophecies, they earnestly engaged in the work; and having collected skilful mechanics, they were preparing the materials (timber, etc.) and clearing out the area (place *for foundation*). With so much earnest-zeal did they labour about these things, that their married women brought the building-ingredients in their folded arms (BOSOMS, *as they would young children*), and contributed their necklaces (*jewels or other ornaments to hang about one's neck*) and all other feminine ornaments readily, to the expense of the work! But to the emperor, and to the other heathens, and to all the Jews, all other things were secondary to the undertaken work.

RESULTS OF THE ATTEMPT.

HOWEVER, when they would have destroyed the ruins of the former structure, and would have cleared the foundation, it is recorded that on the day after (*succeeding*) that on which they were about to lay the first foundation, there occurred a great earthquake; and owing to the commotion of the earth, that stones were thrown up from their recesses (*deep parts*), and that of the Jews there perished those who superintended the work and they who had gone for the sake of seeing it. For both the mansions near the temple and the public porticoes (*places of resort*) fell down suddenly, and the plurality found there partly perished instantly, and others were found half dead, and mangled either in their hands or their legs, and others were maimed in other parts of their body. But when God ceased shaking *the earth*, again those that were engaged *in the work* tried (*reëngaged*), and a fire suddenly started up from the foundations of the temple and destroyed several. After this it was immediately decided by some that Christ was God, others in a short time attached themselves (πρεσεθεντο, *reflective sense of the middle verb, namely what we do to ourselves, or for ourselves*) to the Church.

EXPEDITION OF JULIAN AGAINST THE PARTHIANS—HIS DEFEAT AND DEATH.

Now, when the Parthians (*people of* ARÆCH, CORASAN and *Farsistan, whose God was Mithras, on the borders of the Caspian and the Mogul's country*), informed of Constantine's death, took heart (*courage*), and advanced to the confines of the Romans, declaring war, it seemed good to Julian to collect an army. Having crossed the river (*Tigris?*) that marks-out-definitely their dominion on the part of the Persians and Romans *respectively*, and having led across his army, he instantly burned the boats, *thus* constraining, and not exhorting, his soldiers to battle. Having quitted the inhabited *country* (χῶραν), he had entered the desert. Here now an old man having taken upon him to die for the preservation (*freedom*) of all the Persians, when he was seen and-known to be made-a-prisoner purposely, he is conducted to the commander, as if arrested against his will; and having been questioned about that line of march, and appearing to speak truth, with a view that they may follow him, he made them believe that he would set the army down in the confines of the Romans, only, however, that the journey would be difficult for three or four days. The emperor, being prevailed-upon by the words of the crafty old man, determined that they should go this way; but when in their progress onward (*further on*), even after *the lapse of* three days, they entered rugged paths, the old man, the prisoner, being put to the torture, acknowledged that he came-a-volunteer to death for *the sake* of his countrymen, and was ready cheerfully to undergo all *consequences*. Now while the army was in anguish, the Persian battalia attacked them, by this time (ηδε) harassed both by the length of the journey and the privation of *all* requisites. But, when a fierce battle was engaged, suddenly a strong wind starting-up (*being raised*) enveloped in clouds the firmament and the sun, and spread dust through the air. And while there was darkness and much thick mist (αχλυς, *which shrouds objects from view—spoken often in Homer of the mist which comes over the eyes of the dying*), a (τις) horseman galloping up *by him*, launches his spear at the king, and inflicts a deadly wound, and having tumbled him from his horse, he got off, escaping the discovery who he was. But they tell *us* that Julian, upon having received the wound, instantly filled his hand with the blood and threw it into the air, and said, Thou

hast conquered, O Galilæan; and thus, that he both acknowledged the victory and dared the blasphemy, so senseless-and-infatuated he was.

ST. BASIL OF CÆSAREA—ST. GREGORY, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Basil and Gregory, being cotemporaries, were distinguished as alike earnest in eminent virtues, as I may say. For both, when they were youths, went-to-school to Himerius and Proeresius, then the most celebrated sophists at Athens (*now* Setines), and after this to Libanius in Antioch. But ceasing to regard the sophist-learning and to plead causes, they came-to-know how to practise-wisdom according to the law of the Church. Moreover, when they had continued for some time in the school-learning of the philosophers among the heathens, and had attained-an-accurate-insight of the expositions of the holy Scriptures, they became an important advantage to *all* of the same faith as (*of*) those who had formed-the-Council (*met at*) Nice (*city in Bithynia, or Osmanili, as called by the Turks, over against Constantinople; Archbishop's See, where the Council was held against the heresy of Arius,* anno Christi 324, *whence is called* The Nicene Creed.)

And Basil, visiting around the cities *neighbouring* to Pontus (*between Bithynia and Paphlagonia, upon the Euxine*), established there several houses of monks, and in teaching the people he impressed upon them to hold the same opinions (the same *doctrines of faith*) as himself. Now Gregory having received the bishopric of the city of Nazianzum (*his birth-place, in Cappadocia, on the Euxine, famous for* horses and mules and *slaves, called by Horace* mancipiis dives), frequently resorted for the sake of this in other places, and particularly to Constantinople; and not long after this he was authorized by the vote (ψῆφῳ, from ψαῶ, to wear—*spoken of the black and white stones or pebbles used for voting*, viz.: *the white for approval* or *acquittal*, and the *black* for *condemnation;* see *Æschines*, 57, 10; see *Potter's Antiq.*, i. p. 119) of several (*electorate*) priests, to have the *episcopal* direction of this city (of people, *literally*).

ST. BASIL MAINTAINS THE NICENE FAITH IN OPPOSITION TO THE EMPEROR.

VALENS (*brother of Valentinian the First, forty-eighth Emperor, bitter enemy to Christians, made such monks and hermits as he did not slaughter quit their cells and become soldiers; favoured the Arians; gave credit to enchantments and sorceries; Huns and Goths brought to fight against him; he was wounded in the battle by an arrow, and strove to take refuge in a farmer's house; set fire to by the Goths, and he was burnt*, A.D. 382), coming to Cappadocia, commanded them to drive Basil out. So then he was brought out, and in conformity to the desire (*γνώμην, the mind, i.e., the sentient principle:* same as *ψυχή, mind in its various manifestations*) of the emperor, he was led up to the viceroy's tribunal. And when the viceroy put the question to him for what reason (*on account of what*) he embraced not the faith of the emperor, Basil with great freedom censured the religious system of the sovereign, and maintained (*stood with*) the faith of Athanasius (*Bishop of Alexandria, opposed to the Arians; author of the Athanasian creed*). But when the viceroy threatened him with death, Would, said Basil, that it happen to me to be released from the chains of the body for the sake (*support*) of the truth. And when the viceroy told him to consider the matter over (*παλίν*), it is told us that Basil replied: I am the same both this day and to-morrow (*on the morrow*); for being a creature, I will not endure to worship a being-of-like-substance (*ὅμοιον, alluding to the leading doctrine of Arius, which denied the Son of God to be, ὁμουσιον, of the same substance with the Father—only a creation*), and acknowledge him God, neither to be a participator of the same system-of-worship with you and the emperor. For we should not gratify man (*ανθρῶποις, generically*) and make light of (from *ολίγος ὥρα*) faith in the Divine Being which I would never betray,—not though condemned by proscription of estate, nor by banishment, nor death, since property I possess not, only clothing-of-little-value (*ρακος*, hence *rag*), and a few small-books (*βιβλία, dimin. from βιβλος, inner rind of the papyrus, anciently used for writing*), and I am a dweller upon the earth as one ever sojourning *there*, and my body, owing to its feebleness after the first great-infliction *on it, shall rise* superior to sense and tortures. When Basil boldly spoke such words, the viceroy, struck-with-amazement at the virtuous-courage of the man, told it to the emperor.

But he, having come into the church with his princes and life-guards, presented his offerings on the altar, and came to *viva-voce* communication with Basil.

GRATIAN, FORTY-NINTH, AND THEODOSIUS, FIFTIETH EMPEROR.

Gratian, nephew of Valens, son of Valentinian First, and brother of Valentinian Second—soft and luxurious, and not popular with his soldiers, after his having taken Theodosius into the partnership of the empire—was killed by Andragathius at the procurement of Maximus—THEODOSIUS, *a noble Spaniard by birth, brave, and just, and generous, slew the tyrant Maximus, who had slain his amiable friend Gratian—Restored the empire of his family to Valentinian Second—Conquered and slew Arbogastes and Eugenius, who slew Valentinian—After this victory invested his son Honorius with the empire of the West, and Arcadius with that of the East.*

Now Gratian, at the same time with the young Valentinian, having come to the head of the government, recalled *from their banishment* those that were exiled by Valens. And when he perceived the empire of the Romans labouring *and distressed*, and that the public *interests* need a man of abilities, he takes to him as a partner in the empire Theodosius, a man derived from the high families of Spain, who had achieved many brave deeds in the wars. Gratian then having proclaimed (*declared*) him emperor, shares with him the conflicts against the barbarians (*or, he apportions to him the conflicts, etc. For he was personally very little bellicose*). However, when Theodosius reduced some of the barbarians in battle, and upon having accepted hostages, (ὁμήρους ab ὁμόν ειρείν) received others into treaties, he came to Thessalonica (*now* SALONICHI, *to the inhabitants of which St. Paul writes two Epistles; chief city of Macedonia, so called because Philip of Macedon conquered the Thessalians there*). And when he fell into a fit-of-sickness, he desired to be held worthy of baptism, being a Christian from the first by his ancestors. Having sent for (*inquired after*) the bishop of the Thessalonians, he first asked him what particular *doctrines of* faith he attached himself to; and when he said that the system-of-opinion of Arius passed not as far as to the nations of the Illyrians (*country called* SCLA-

VONIA *or* WENDENLAND, *having Pannonia or Hungary north, Istria west, Macedonia east, and Adriatic or G. of Venice south, divided into Liburnia or Dalmatia*), but they continue to retain the faith handed down from the apostles originally, even from the very beginning, and that had been confirmed in the Council at Nice, the emperor is most gladly (*ασμένως*, from *ήσμένος*, perf. pass. of *ήδομαι*) baptized by the bishop. Having become convalescent then from this illness, he comes after a few days to the city of Constantinople.

ATTEMPT OF THE ARIANS TO PERVERT THEODOSIUS.

THOSE of the sect of Arius prevailed upon their co-religionists within the palace to tamper with (*sound*) the emperor. Wherefore the Catholics were in fear lest Theodosius being over persuaded (*seduced*), might change *his mind* to the profession of Arius. Of the bishops who had come to the palace to pay court to the emperor (RULING *sovereign*), as it is etiquette with them, there is said to have been a certain old man, *chief* priest of an obscure city, simple and unsophisticated in the world, but engaging his attention with divine *things*. Howbeit then the other *prelates*, with due veneration, paid-their-respects-to the sovereign. And so in like manner with them did the aged prelate also address himself *to him;* however, to the emperor's son, who sat along with him, he did not extend like honour; but approaching him, as if to *some other* child: Good morrow, boy, said he, caressing him with his finger. But the emperor being moved to anger and indignant at his son being insulted, commanded the old man to be put out offensively. Howbeit he, while he was thrust out, turned and said: Emperor, so now be assured that the Heavenly Father also is indignant with those that honour His Son with worship unlike *his own*, and who presume to style Him inferior to His Father (*as the Arians did*). Struck-with-admiration at what he had spoken, he recalled the prelate, and asked his pardon, and acknowledged that he had spoken truly, and become more guarded *and cautious*, he admitted no more them that held the sentiments of Arius.

REVOLT OF THESSALONICA—THE EMPEROR CAUSES AN INDISCRIMINATE MASSACRE OF THE INHABITANTS.

THE city, Thessalonica, situated (*having its limits*, τελός) within the country of the Macedonians, is very large and very populous. When a sedition had arisen within it, certain of the magistrates were dragged-along *through the streets.* And when these matters were made known *to him*, the emperor having been seized with (*falling into*) a boundless rage, commanded a certain number (*seven thousand*) of such as came in his way to be slain; and then was the city filled with the slaughter of several innocent *persons:* for instantly the strangers who had put in *there*, and such as had arrived by land-travel, were unexpectedly arrested. And pitiable scenes-of-suffering occurred, among which also was this:—A merchant, offering himself in lieu of his two sons that were arrested, implored that he be put to death (*die*), but that the sons be kept alive (*saved*). As compensation for this, he offered (προϊσχόμαι) the soldiers all the gold *coin* (χρυσίον, *not* χρυσον) that he had. But they, pitying the man for his misfortune, admitted his supplication for one of the sons, whichever he should prefer. They told him, however, that to let go the two would not be without danger to themselves, as the number would be missed. But the father, looking upon both, moaning and weeping, shrunk from the selection of either (*literal, endured the selection of neither*); but, being subdued by extreme love for both equally, he continued perplexed-and-wavering until they were *both* put to death (*died*).

ST. AMBROSE EXCLUDES THE EMPEROR FROM THE CHURCH UNTIL HE SHALL HAVE DONE PENANCE.

Now after this, the emperor having arrived in Milan (*in Italy, famous for population, library, church, and castle; as Mediolanum it was ancient capital of Gallia Cisalpina*), proceeded (*came*) to the church to pray. But when he reached the gates, Ambrose, bishop of the city, having met him *there*, and having taken *in his hand* the purple robe in sight of the multitude, he prevented him from entering the sacred thresholds, adding these very words (δε *gives more closeness to the meaning of the word*):

Emperor, you know not, as appears to me, the enormity of the murder (*massacre*) perpetrated *by you*, nor, after the cessation of your rage, has reason come-to-know the crime-committed. Verily it behoves you, not decoyed by the splendour of the purple, to be ignorant of the feebleness of the body that is covered *by it*. Emperor, you rule over creatures-of-like-nature-with-yourself, and moreover also fellow-slaves: for God is the one Lord (*master*) and sovereign of all *without* exception. Now, how shall you receive in such *polluted* hands the supremely-holy body of the Lord? and how, having shed so much blood unjustly, shall you approach the honoured blood to that mouth? Away-with-you then, and attempt not (πείραϑ—ῶ, imper. 2 pers. s. mid.) to swell former transgression by subsequent misdeeds. Well, the Emperor returned to the palace moaning and weeping.

REPENTANCE OF THEODOSIUS—HIS ABSOLUTION AT THE SUIT OF RUFINUS.

Now, when a considerable time had elapsed, for eight months were passed, the festival of our Lord's Nativity (*natal festival*) came on (*overtook*). Meantime, the emperor was sitting at home in the palace weeping profusely (*shedding tear-drops*). Rufinus (*he was one of the three guardians to the two young princes, Arcadius and Honorius*), upon seeing this, came to him and asked the cause of his tears. But, sighing bitterly, he *says:* I sigh (στενω—ῶ, *from* στενως EX ANGUSTO CORDE) and lament, contemplating my misfortune, that (*since*) the temple of God is accessible to servants and mendicants, but to me this same is both unapproachable, and, in addition thereto, the Heaven has been shut out. For I recollect the words (*voice*) of the Lord that says: Whatsoever (ὅ ἐὰν, *used in relative clauses and with relative words* EVER, SOEVER; *Lat.* CUNQUE, *with the subjunctive mood, and implying uncertainty with the prospect of decision: for* εἰ ἄν—εἰ *expresses a condition which is merely hypothetical*, i.e., a SUBJECTIVE *possibility; while* ἐάν *implies a condition which experience must determine*, i. e., *an objective possibility, and refers, therefore, always to something future*) you shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven. Then Rufinus said: I will go-in-haste, if it please you, and urge the prelate to loose your bonds. He will-not-let-himself-be-persuaded (πεισεται, *meaning in middle voice*

and in the pass.), said the emperor, for I know the just *principle* of Ambrosius' decision. He will not, through reverence of the imperial authority, violate the divine law. But when Rufinus, having recourse-to more arguments, promised that he would bring-over Ambrosius, the emperor bid him depart in haste ; and moreover, he himself, allured by hope, followed in a short time. Now when Rufinus came and met *the bishop*, and said that the emperor will come *presently*, being fired by the divine zeal, Ambrose said: Rufinus, I forenotice you, that I will debar him from entering the divine thresholds. Rufinus, upon having heard these *words*, signified through some one to the emperor the aim *of the prelate*, and impressed upon him to stay within the palace. But when the emperor had heard this on the middle of the public highway, Go *I shall*, said he, and shall submit to just rantings (παροινίας, *violences influenced by wine*). And when he had reached the sacred precincts, having come to Ambrosius, he entreated that he be freed from his bonds. But the prelate replied: What change of mind (μεταμέλειαν, not μετάνοιαν, *remorse and penance*) have you exhibited after so great a transgression: and with what kind of medicines have you healed your wounds? Thereupon the emperor said: For you is the duty to point out the medicines, but mine it is to receive your prescriptions. Then, said the prelate, commit-it-to-writing as law (*write a law order*), that they who subministrate the imperial commands put off for thirty days (*unto the thirtieth day*) the punishment of those that have been condemned to death, so as that time in the interim may soften the *imperial* wrath, and that there be space given for mercy and well-regulated-change-of-mind. Theodosius instantly commanded such order-of-law to be written out.

ADMISSION OF THEODOSIUS TO THE CHURCH—HIS HUMILITY.

Now when this had happened, the godly Ambrose relaxed the fetters. So that most faithful emperor having resumed confidence to enter (to be) within the temple of the divine *Being*, not standing, nor having bent his knees, but prostrated on his face on the ground, he supplicated the Lord. He uttered the words of David: My spirit cleaved (*was glued*, from κολλα, *glue*) unto the ground, enliven me according to thy word. And plucking out his hair with his hands, and striking his forehead, and wetting

the ground with trickling (drops of) tears, he earnestly-besought to obtain pardon.

INSURRECTION OF ANTIOCH—THE CITY PARDONED AT THE PRAYER OF FLAVIAN, THE BISHOP.

Owing to the pressure of the war, it seemed good to the magistrates to make the tributaries pay something more than their wonted taxes. For this *reason*, now, the population of the Antiocheans in Syria breaking-into-revolt, pulled down the statues of the sovereign and of his empress (*married wife*), and having tied them with a rope, pulled them along, uttering expressions of insult such as it is usual with an exasperated populace. And when he was purposing to cut off several of the people of Antioch, and the mob was appalled at the very rumour, and ceasing from their frenzy they regretted *the deed*, and they kept-sighing and crying, as if for the evils that were reported being already come, and they supplicated God to mitigate the anger of the emperor, using in those prayers certain sweet strains dolefully. When (*at the which time*) now also Flavian, the bishop of the people of Antioch, acting as ambassador for his countrymen, while the emperor was still in his indignation, prevailed-upon the young persons that used to sing at the emperor's table to sing the holy-songs *used* in the prayers of the people of Antioch; at which it is said that the emperor dissolved into mercy, was overpowered by pity, and soon after dismissed his resentment and reconciled-himself to the city, wetting with his tears the cup (*goblet with more breadth than depth*, φιάλην) that he happened to hold. Yea, vast massacre would have followed-close-upon *their behaviour*, had not the emperor stayed his wrath, through his piety respecting the sacerdotal intercession.

DEATH OF THEODOSIUS—SUCCESSION OF ARCADIUS AND HONORIUS.

Howbeit, the emperor, owing to the wearisomeness (*painful* TRAVAIL AND SORROW, *coupled with the idea of* κοπος) of war, was affected with a cachexy (*disorded habit of body*), and when

he supposed (προσδοκαώ—ῶ) from that pressing debility that the concerns of this life were drawing to a close (*were to have an end*), he entertained a heavier concern than of his death about the public interests. So then he sends for his son Honorius from Constantinople with all the speed possible (*liter., in what way speed could*). And when his son was already arrived in Milan, he got a little better from his illness, and exhibits games-of-horseracing. And before the midday-meal (ἄριστον, *same as* PRANDIUM, *not* δεῖπνον, which is *same as* CŒNA) he recovered; but after the midday meal he was suddenly affected with a relapse, and was unable to go out to the exhibition. However, enjoining upon his son to go through with the exhibition, when the night came on he died. The emperor Theodosius lived sixty years; and when the emperor Theodosius died, on the seventeenth day of the month January, his sons succeed to the empire of the Roman people. So Arcadius obtained the government of the eastern *parts;* but Honorius *of the countries* of the west.

PROMOTION OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM TO THE SEE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Now after the lapse of a little time the bishop of Constantinople died; instantly then an earnest struggle about the election of bishop was entered upon, and when one *suffragan* required one and another another, and when plans (*a plan*) on this subject had oftentimes been proposed, at last it seemed good that John, the presbyter of Antioch, be sent for from Antioch. John was a native of Antioch, by birth of the noble families there, upright in his life, with abilities in eloquence and persuasion, even outdoing the orators of his time (*in his time*), as Libanius the sophist from Syria, has likewise borne witness. For when he was now going to die, he is recorded to have said to his friends asking who shall succeed him (*who shall be after him*)—John, unless the Christians have stolen him. He exercised a discreet system of living, and careful self-government, and an enunciation of speech clear with brilliancy. So then, having become illustrious through his words and works to those who knew him by experience, and to those who did not know him *personally* by his reputation throughout the whole subject *world* of the Romans,

he seemed the fit-and-proper person to preside-as-bishop over the Church at Constantinople.

ZEAL AND PREACHING OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM—DISGRACE OF EUTROPIUS—DISCOURSE OF ST. JOHN THEREON.

MEANTIME while John most excellently performs the duties of overseer (*chief-churchman*) of Constantinople, he converted (*brought over*) many, as well of the heathens as also several of the heretics (*heresies*). And a crowd kept flocking to him ever (i.e., *assiduously*), and he charmed them all and prevailed upon them to hold the same opinions as himself. He was constant in reproving sinners and expressing his indignation with freedom against them that acted iniquitously, as if he himself were iniquitously treated. Now this was naturally agreeable to the many, but mortifying to the rich and powerful.

And so many *calumnies* were uttered against him; but a discourse spoken by him at that time against Eutropius added considerably to the slander. For through the earnest-effort of Eutropius, a law is passed, ordering that no one anywhere should fly for refuge to a church, and also that those who had fled thither already should be driven out.

In a short time, however, having been caught in an ambush as (for) having offered insult to the wife of the emperor, he himself the first transgressed his law, and having fled from the palace, he took refuge in the church as a suppliant. When (*at the which time*) John directed against him, prostrated at foot of the holy altar, a splendid piece of eloquence, pulling down alike the supercilious-ness of those in high places (power), as showing to the people that nothing in human affairs likes to continue long in the same *condition*. However Eutropius, being decapitated, underwent *condign* punishment for that wicked attempt *of his*. And the law that was passed *by his means* was entirely removed (*made to disappear*) from the public records.

HATRED OF THE EMPRESS TOWARDS ST. JOHN—EFFORTS OF POPE INNOCENT ON HIS BEHALF.

AFTER these things now, when but a short time had elapsed, John in his preaching uttered a general (*common*) vituperation

against women (THE SEX of women). The crowd understood this to apply inferentially to (*against*) the emperor's wife. And the bishop's enemies also hearing of this discourse, conveyed it to the empress. But she upon having learned it, complained of the insult to the emperor, saying that her insult was his. However, the more zealous *men* of the people kept-guarding John by night and day, in successive alternations, taking their places around (*by*) the bishop's house. But when an emissary from the emperor had come and charged *John* with threats to be off, he went forth unobserved by the guards from the people, in so far *only* finding fault, that he is illegally driven away by force, not deemed worthy of a trial, which is vouchsafed by the laws even to murderers and impostors. So he crosses in a small boat into Bithynia, and thence immediately entered upon his journey. And when Innocent, the bishop (*Pope-was'nt he?*) of the Romans, had learned what was done against John, he was indignant, and eagerly desiring him to be restored (*to go back*), he deputed seven bishops and two presbyters of the church of the Romans to Honorius and Arcadius, to demand a synod, and the time and place of the same. But those that were inimical to John in Constantinople (*fully prepared*) organized their slander, and they effectuated that John himself by edict of the emperor be removed further on as far as Pityus. And the soldiers came in *all* haste and performed this *command.* Now they tell us that he when led along by those *soldiers*, foresaw the day on which he was to die, as Basilincus the martyr had appeared to him, in Comanæ of Armenia. There then being no longer able to bear up against the *fatigues of* the journey, for he had pains in his head, and was not able (*such as*) to endure the ray (*beams*) of the sun, he died of the distemper (*he exchanged life by means of the illness*).

END OF SOCRATES, SOZOMEN, AND THEODORET.

MINUTIUS FELIX—OCTAVIUS.

WHILE I was thinking and passing in review within my own mind the remembrance of Octavius, my good and most faithful companion, such a sweetness of love and attachment for the man clung to me, that I seemed to myself in some sort actually to return into the past,[1] and not merely to call back by recollection those things which had been already accomplished and run out. Thus in proportion as the contemplation of him has been withdrawn from my eyes, in the like degree has it become mixed up with my breast and almost with my inmost senses. Nor was it undeservedly that this excelling and virtuous man left to us *when* departing an immense feeling of his loss; inasmuch as he himself always glowed with so great a love for us, that, both in amusements and in business, he agreed with me in similar inclinations, and wished for and disliked the same things. Thou wouldst believe that the one mind was divided between the two. Thus he was himself my only intimate in my loves, and my companion in my wanderings; and when, after the mist had been dispersed, I emerged from the depth of darkness into the light of wisdom and truth, he did not refuse me for a comrade, but what is more glorious, he outstripped me. While, therefore, my thought was travelling round through the entire period of our companionship and intimacy, the application of my mind settled upon that discourse in particular, whereby, in a weighty disputation, he converted to the true religion Cæcilius, who was even then clinging to superstitious vanities.

For, both on account of business and for the sake of visiting myself, he had proceeded to Rome, having left house, wife, and children, and that, while they were still in their years of innocence (the thing most delightful in children), and attempting their yet imperfect words and speech, all the sweeter for the interruption of the stumbling tongue. At which arrival of his I cannot express in words with how great and with what impatient joy I exulted, inasmuch as the unexpected presence of that dearest friend greatly increased my gladness. Therefore, after one or two days, when the constant benefit of intercourse had gratified the eagerness of our longing, and when we had discovered from each other's account the matters relating to each other, of which we had been ignorant by reason of our mutual absence, it pleased us to go to Ostia, that most delightful town,

because a pleasant and most suitable cure for my bodily ailment was to be drawn from the sea baths, *owing to their property* of drying up the humours. In addition to this, the holidays of the vine harvest had relaxed our forensic employment; for, at that season, after the summer day had passed, the autumn weather was inclining to mildness. When, therefore, at early morning, we were advancing towards the sea by walking along the shore, in order as well that the air breathing gently might freshen our limbs, and that the sand, yielding to our soft tread, should sink with an exquisite sense of pleasure to us; Cæcilius, having observed the statue of Serapis, raising his hand to his mouth, as the superstitious multitude is in the habit of doing, marked a kiss upon it with his lips.

Then Octavius says, "It is not *the part* of a good man, Brother Marcus, thus to desert in the blindness of vulgar ignorance a man cleaving to your side at home and abroad; so that upon so bright a day *as this* you suffer him to stumble against stones, shaped into statues truly, and anointed, and crowned with wreaths, when you must know that of this error no less disgrace flows back upon you than upon himself". During this discourse of his, having traversed (measured) the intervening distance between the town and the sea, we were now in possession of the open strand. There the gentle water bathing the furthest sands levelled *them*, as though it were strewing them for a walking ground; and as the sea, even when the breezes are laid, is always restless, although it was not issuing forth upon the land with gray and foamy billows, nevertheless we were exceedingly delighted with its curly,[2] and in the same place swelling meanderings;[3] when, upon the very edge of the sea, we just dipped our soles (*in the water*), because by turns pushed forward, it playfully approached our feet, and by turns ebbing and retracing its steps, it again drew in the waves upon itself. Having thus gradually and quietly advanced, we skirted the edge of a gently curving shore, while stories amused (*deceived*) the way. These stories were the narrative of Octavius discoursing about navigation. But when we had covered (*consumed*) in the course of our conversation a sufficiently fair length of walking, traversing the same way again, we trod *it* retracing our steps (*with reversed steps*). And when we came to that (*part of the*) place, where the boats drawn ashore with piles placed under them, lay idle, being elevated (*suspended*) out of the reach of injury from the land, we see boys vieingly take delight in playing at the throwing of shells into the sea. The play is this: to gather

from the strand a smooth shell, polished by the tossing of the waves; *then, that the thrower* being bent forward and stooping as low as he can, and holding the shell, grasped in his fingers in a horizontal position, should make it roll[4] over the waters, so that this missile should either skim the surface of the sea, or keep afloat while gliding with a gentle motion, or having grazed the tops of the waves, should spring forward and emerge while raising itself by continuous leaping. He amongst the boys considered himself victorious, whose shell should run farthest and bound oftenest.

SAINT CYPRIAN TO DONATUS.

Cæcilius Cyprianus to Donatus, greeting: Thou remindest me rightly, dearest Donatus, for I both recollect that I promised, and this time is altogether seasonable for redeeming my promise: now when, by the indulgence of the vine harvest, the mind, relaxed into repose, obtains the appointed vacation (*truce*) of the laborious year. The place also agrees with the season, and the pleasant aspect of the gardens concurs with the gentle breezes of the playful autumn in at once calming and cherishing the senses. Here is it delightful to spend the day in conversations, and, by the aid of stories, to inform the conscience of the breast unto the divine commands; and, lest any profane witness may hinder our conference, or the unforbearing clamour of the noisy household may weary us, let us betake ourselves to[5] this place. The neighbouring privacy[6] affords us a retreat, where, while the wandering glidings of the vine branches creep with their hanging knots amongst the supporting reeds, the leafy roofs have made for us a vine-wrought portico.[7] Well do we in this place commit studies to our ears, and, while we gratify[8] our eyes with the delightful prospect upon the vines and trees; at one and the same time, the hearing[9] interests the mind, and the sight nourishes it. Although now thy sole care and sole pleasure is that of oratory; nevertheless the enticements of a pleasurable view being despised, thy eye is fixed upon me; thou art all a hearer, as well with the ear as with the mind, and *that* with this love wherewith thou lovest. But what manner of thing, or how much is it, that can come from my breast into thine? The poor mediocrity of my slender talent brings forth a very small harvest;[10] it grows heavy into plenty, with no stems of the fertile soil. I shall make the attempt, how-

ever, with the ability wherewith I can. In judicial proceedings in the public meeting before the rostra, let rich eloquence be set in motion by voluble ambition; but when our speech is concerning the Lord God, the pure simplicity of *that* speech relies not upon the strength of eloquence, but upon facts, for arguments of faith. In fine, hear from me things not eloquent, but strong,—not painted with refined phrase for the captivation of a popular audience, but simple with the coarse truth for preaching the divine indulgence. Hear what is felt before it is learned, and is not collected by the slow acknowledgment of the understanding through tedious intervals of time, but is drunk in by the short way of speeding grace. I, when I was lying in darkness and in black night, and when, upon the soil of the world that tossed me, I moved up and down, staggering and doubtful, with straying steps, ignorant of my life, a stranger to truth and light, I thought, according to my then morality, that, that was altogether difficult and hard which the Divine Mercy promised to me for my salvation, namely, that a man could be born again, and, being animated[11] unto a new life by the laver of salutary water, should lay down what he had been previously, and should change the man in disposition and in mind, although with the enclosure of the body remaining. How, I said, is such a conversion possible,—that, suddenly and rapidly, that should be put off, which, either being innate to me, has hardened within me by the effect of my natural constitution, or, having been contracted by me, has long grown inveterate by the oldness of age? These things have fixed their seat *in* me by a deep and thoroughly far-sunk root. When does *he* learn frugality, who has been accustomed to feasts in the style of banquets, and to abundant meats? and he who, conspicuous for his precious garments, shone in purple and in gold, when does he reduce himself to a plebeian and simple style? He who was delighted with fasces and honours, cannot remain a private individual and unhonoured. This man, surrounded by compact troops[12] of clients, distinguished by the crowded company of the officious train, he thinks it a penalty when he is alone. It is inevitable that the habit of drunkenness must solicit, that pride must puff up, that anger must inflame, that rapacity must disturb, that cruelty must stimulate, that ambition must delight, that passion must drive headlong, the man who has always been used to fast-holding seductions. These matters I *have often reasoned* with myself. For, as I myself was held entangled in the numerous errors of my former life, from which I did not think that I could be extricated, I was thus obedient to the vices which clung

to me, and, through despair of better things, I favoured my evils as though they were my own and native to me. But when, by the aid of the[13] regenerating water, the stains of my former life having been washed out, the pure and serene light poured itself out from above into my purified bosom; when the spirit, having been drawn in from Heaven, the second birth reformed me into the new man; then, in a wonderful way, things doubtful immediately became confirmed—hidden things lay open—darksome places grew lightsome—that which formerly seemed difficult yielded means of *accomplishment*—that which was considered impossible became possible to be done,—so that it should be acknowledged that, what, originally born according to the flesh, had lived subject to crimes, was earthly; and that what the Holy Spirit was now animating, had begun to be of God.

For a short while imagine thyself to be withdrawn to the lofty top of a high mountain, that thou art thence surveying the aspects of things lying beneath thee, and that, having[14] turned thy eyes in various directions, thou being free thyself from earthly contact, regardest the whirlwinds of the fluctuating world. And now thou wilt both pity the world, and, being admonished, and more and more grateful to God, thou wilt congratulate thyself that thou hast escaped. Behold thou the roads blocked up by robbers, the seas beset by pirates, wars everywhere divided with the bloody horror of the camp. The globe is wet with mutual slaughter, and when individuals commit murder, it is a crime; when it is publicly done, it is called a virtue. The greatness of the cruelty, it is, and not the plea of innocence, that procures impunity for wickedness. Now, if thou turn thy eyes and face to the towns, thou wilt fall upon a populousness more sad than any solitude. The gladiatorial show is in preparation, that blood may delight the passion of cruel men. The body is filled with strong food, so as to become full of blood (juice); and the robust bulk of limbs, with ox-like sinew, fattens, in order that *a man* pampered for execution may die at a dearer rate. Man is killed for the pleasure of man; and that any one should be able to slay, is skill, it is practice, it is art. The wickedness is not only perpetrated, it is taught. What can be mentioned more inhuman, more cruel?[15] That a man should be able to kill, is a branch of learning; that he should actually kill, is *matter* of glory. What, and what manner of thing, is that, I pray thee, when those whom no one has condemned, with life all before them, of comely presence and in costly garments, expose themselves to wild beasts? While yet alive, they are arrayed for a voluntary death; the unhappy men

glory in their own evils. They fight with the beasts, not from guilt, but from madness. Fathers look on at their sons—the brother is in the amphitheatre, and the sister is present—and, although enlarged arrangements of the show increase the price of the exhibition, this increased price—oh, shame!—the mother also pays, in order that she, the mother, may be present at her own woes: and, amid such impious, such dire and fatal spectacles, men do not think that they are murderers through their eyes. Turn hence your countenance to another not less deplorable[16] contagion of the *public* shows. In the theatres thou wilt see what will cause thee both grief and shame. The tragic buskin is there to recount in verse the old crimes *of fable*. The ancient horror told concerning the incestuous and the parricides is repeated, in action shaped to the likeness of truth, lest, as ages pass, any crime that has ever been committed should fall out of use. Adultery is learned while it is looked at, and while the evil of public authority panders to vice, the matron who had perhaps gone modest to the theatre, returns immodest. Then, again, what a taint of morals, what a cherishing of crimes, what food of vices is it not to be polluted by the gestures of the actors! Men look on here, and—O abomination!—willingly; and what is there that such a spectacle may not persuade *men to do?*

TO MOSES, MAXIMUS, AND OTHER CONFESSORS.

(LETTER XV.)

Congratulatory Letter.

CYPRIAN to Moses and Maximus, priests, and to the other brethren, confessors, health: Celerinus, who is both the companion of your faith and virtue, and a soldier in the glorious encounter of God, arriving *here*, dearest brethren, has been the representative of you, all and each alike, to our affection. We beheld you every one, in him as he came; and when he often and sweetly described your charity towards me, we heard yourselves in his discourses. I greatly and exceedingly rejoice when such things are conveyed to us from you through such men. We also are with you in a certain sense there in the prison; we imagine that we feel along with you the favours of the divine condescension, we who cleave so to your hearts. Your inseparable charity links us to your honour; the spirit doth not suffer love to be divided. Your confession of the faith shuts you in there, love

shuts in me. And we, indeed, mindful of you day and night, both when we make our prayer in common with many in the sacrifices, and when in retirement we pray with private prayers, implore full favour from the Lord for your crowns and your praise. But our mediocrity is too poor for repaying you your good offices. For you give more when you think of us in prayer, you who now breathing Heavenly things alone, and meditating divine things only, ascend to higher summits by the very delay of your suffering; and by the remote period of time, do not betray but increase your glory. A first and single confession makes a man blessed: you confess the faith, as often as, being invited to withdraw from the prison, you prefer the prison by reason of your faith and virtue. As many as are your days, so many are your praises; as many as are the courses of the months, so many are the increases of your merits. He conquers once for all who suffers immediately. But he who, remaining perpetually in punishment, has his encounter with pain and is not conquered, *he* is crowned daily. Let magistracies now go *to the winds*, and let consuls or proconsuls glory in the insignia of their dignity of a year, and in their twelve fasces. Behold the Heavenly dignity has been marked on you by the brightness of a year-long honour, and already by the length of its victorious glory has overpassed the rolling circle of the returning year. The rising sun and the waning moon each illumined the world; but the same who made the sun and moon was a greater light to you in your prison; and the brightness of Christ, shining in your heart and in your mind, irradiated with that eternal and pure light the darkness horrible and fatal to others of the place of punishment. The winter season passed through the changes of the months; but you also shut in have measured the season of winter by the winter of persecution. To the winter has succeeded the vernal mildness, joyous with roses and crowned with flowers; but roses and flowers from the delights of Paradise were present to you, and Heavenly wreaths crowned your head. Behold the summer is fruitful with fertility of the harvest and the threshing floor is full of corn; whereas you who have sown glory, reap the harvest of glory; and established upon the threshing floor of the Lord, you will see the straw burned with inextinguishable fire. You yourselves, like the purified grains of wheat and precious corn already purified and harvested, regard the abode of the prison as your barn. Nor is there wanting to autumn a spiritual grace for discharging the duties of the season. The vintage is worked abroad, and the grapes soon to be fit for cups are being trodden in

the wine-presses. Ye, rich clusters from the vineyard of the Lord and branches with fruit already ripe trodden under by the persecution of worldly oppression, feel your own wine-press in the torturing prison, and pour out your blood instead of wine; strong for the endurance of suffering, you willingly drain the cup of martyrdom. Thus the year revolves with the children of God. Thus the change of the seasons is distinguished by spiritual merits and Heavenly rewards. Blessed enough are they from amongst you, who, travelling along those tracks of glory, have already withdrawn from the world, and who, their journey of virtue and faith being accomplished, have come to the embrace and kiss of the Lord, while the Lord Himself rejoices thereat. But neither will your glory be less, who, being still placed in the fight and soon to follow the glories of your companions, long maintain the battle, and, steadfast with unshaken faith, exhibit a spectacle to God by your virtues. The longer your fight, by so much the more sublime your crown. The struggle is one, but it is cumulative[17] by the manifold frequency of the fights. You overcome hunger and you despise thirst, and you set under foot the squalor of the dungeon and the horror of the penal dwelling by the vigour of your strength. There punishment is brought under subjection, torture is crushed, and death is not feared, but is desired; death, which in truth is overcome by the reward of immortality, in order that he who has conquered may be crowned with eternity of life. How great is now the courage amongst you? How sublime, how spacious the breast where such and so great things are revolved, where nothing but the command of God and the rewards of Christ are thought of! There is the will of God alone; and the life, not of the present world, but of the future, is lived by you, placed though you still be in the flesh. Now is it, dearest brethren, that you may be mindful of me, that, amongst your great and divine thoughts, you may think of me in spirit and in mind, and that I may be in your prayers and supplications, when that voice of yours, illustrious by the purification of confession, and praiseworthy from the tenor of its unceasing honour, penetrates to the ear of God, and, the heavens being opened to it, transmitted from those portions of the lower world to the regions above, obtains from the goodness of the Lord what it demands. For what do you ask from the indulgence of the Lord, which you do not deserve to obtain, who have so kept the commandments of the Lord, who have preserved the gospel discipline with pure vigour of faith, who, by the uncorrupt honour of your virtue, courageously standing with the commandments of the Lord and

with His apostles, have fortified the wavering faith of many by the truth of your martyrdom? Truly witnesses of the gospel and truly martyrs of Christ, leaning upon His roots, founded upon the rock with robust bulk, you have combined discipline with strength, you have excited others to the fear of God, you have made your martyrdom an example. I pray, bravest and most blessed of brethren, that you be ever well, and that you be mindful of us.

IV.—DESCRIPTION OF THE PLAGUE IN AFRICA.

FINALLY, there is this difference between us and the others who know not God, that the latter complain and murmur in adversity, *while* adversity does not draw us away from the truth of faith and virtue, but strengthens us in our suffering. This *fact*, that the bowels relaxed into diarrhæa empty out the strength of the body; the fact, that the fire of disease conceived in the marrow boils out into sores of the throat; the fact, that the intestines are shaken with perpetual vomiting; the fact, that the feet or other parts of the members of some are cut off by reason of the contagion of the diseased putrefaction; the fact that, through the the losses of *limbs* and the injuries of the body, a languor breaking out,[18] either the gait is enfeebled, or the hearing is obstructed, or the sight is blinded; *each of these facts* conduces to the teaching of faith. What greatness of heart is it not to go with the virtue of an unshaken mind against so many attacks of ravage and of death! What sublimity is it not to stand erect amid the ruins of the human race, and not to lie prostrate with those who have no hope in God! We ought rather to congratulate ourselves, and embrace the favour of the time, that while we courageously bring out our faith, and by labour endured for His sake, go on to Christ through the narrow way, we receive the reward of His life and faith, Himself adjudging *it*. Let some one certainly be afraid to die; but let it be the man who, not being born again from water and the spirit, is enslaved to the fires of Hell. Let him fear to die who is not purchased by the cross and passion of Christ. Let him fear to die who will pass from this death to a second death. Let him fear to die, whom departing from this world an eternal flame will torture with perpetual punishment. Let him fear to die upon whom this favour alone

is conferred by a longer delay, that his tortures and groans are put off for the meanwhile. Many of our people die in this mortality, that is, many of our people are freed from the world. This mortality, while to the Jews and the Gentiles, and the enemies of Christ, it is a plague, even so to the servants of God it is a salutary departure. On account of this fact, that without any distinction of the human race the just die along with the unjust, there is no reason why you should think that there is a common end to the good and to the bad. The just are called to refreshment, the unjust are torn off to punishment. Safety is given more speedily *by it* to the faithful: punishment to the disloyal. We are improvident and ungrateful, dearest beloved brethren, towards the divine favours, nor do we acknowledge what is conferred upon us. Behold, virgins go forth in peace, safe with their glory, not fearing the threats and seductions of Antichrist. Boys escape the dangers of the slippery period of life. They arrive happily at the reward of continence and innocence; the delicate matron now no longer fears torments, having escaped by the quickness of her death[19] the fear of persecution and the hands and tortures of the executioner. By the fear of the mortality and the *sickly* season the lukewarm are kindled, the cowardly are stimulated, deserters are compelled to return, the Gentiles are forced to believe; the old race of the faithful is called to repose, a fresh and numerous army is collected with greater strength for the field, about to fight without fear of death; inasmuch as it has come to the service in a season of mortality.

LACTANTIUS.

I.—CONCERNING THE DIVINE OPERATIONS.

(CHAPTER VIII.)

Concerning the Members of Man—his Eyes and Ears.

Now I shall show the system of the entire human creature, and I shall explain the uses and circumstances of each of the limbs, which are either exposed or hidden in the body. When, therefore, God had determined to make man alone of Heavenly nature from amongst all animals, and to make all *other animals* earthly, He set him up erect for the contemplation of Heaven, and made him

a biped, in order that he might look in that direction whence is his origin; but the other animals He lowered to the earth, in order that, as they have no expectation of immortality, being prone towards the ground, they should be devoted to their passions and their food. The plan of man therefore alone is upright and his stature sublime; and his likeness common and nearest to God the Father, testifies his origin and maker. His intellect, almost divine (because it has obtained the dominion not only of animals that are upon the earth but of his own body), stationed in the top of the head, aloft as in a citadel, surveys and contemplates all things. This court of hers, God has formed, not elongated and stretched out as in dumb animals, but like to an orb and a globe, because everything in the nature of a circle is of a perfect plan and figure.

The mind, therefore, and that divine fire, is sheltered by this sky, as it were; the topmost summit of which while God had protected by a certain natural covering, He at once furnished and adorned the front portion, which is called the face, with the necessary services of the members.

And first, because He has fixed the orbs of the eyes in concave openings, from which openings Varro has conceived that the forehead derives its name; and it has been his will that they should be neither more nor less than two, because no number is more perfect for beauty than that of two, as in like manner *He willed* that there should be two ears, the duality of which, it is incredible how much beauty it manifests, both because each side *of the head* is adorned by the similarity of the ears, and in order that sounds coming in either direction, may the more easily be gathered; for the form itself of the ears is fashioned after a wonderful manner, because He did not wish that the passages should be naked and unfenced, which would have been both less becoming and less useful, since the sound might easily fly past the narrow compass of mere cavities, unless the passages themselves were to keep it when received through their hollow windings, and retained by repercussion, like those little vessels, by the imposition of which vessels of narrow mouth are usually filled.[20]

Those ears, therefore [to which the name (auris) has been given from their drawing in (hauriendis) sounds—whence Virgil writes:

* * * * *vocem his auribus hausi;*

or *whether* because the Greeks call the voice itself αὐδην, the ears, by the change of one letter, were called *aures*, as it were

audes from *auditu*] God their maker did not wish to shape out of soft skins, which, hanging and limp, would take beauty *from the countenance;* neither did He wish to make them out of hard and solid bones, lest, being immovable and stiff, they should be unfit for use; but He devised something which should be a mean between the two, so that a somewhat soft cartilage should join them, and that they should have a consistency at once convenient and flexible. In these the function of hearing alone is established, as is that of seeing in the eyes, the subtility of which, in particular, is inexplicable and wonderful, because He protected their orbs, which bear the resemblance of gems, with transparent membranes upon that side whereby sight was to be exercised,[21] so that the images of things placed opposite, showing as in a mirror, should penetrate to the inmost sense. Through those membranes, therefore, that sense which is called the mind sees the things which are external to it; nor must we by any chance suppose that we discern *objects* either by the running in of images (as our philosophers have said), because the function of seeing must be in that which sees, not in that which is seen; or by the pushing forward of the air along with the pupil of the eye, or by effusion of rays; for if the case were so, we should see the ray which we apply to our eyes, until the air pushed forward along with the pupil of the eye, or the emitted rays should reach the object which was to be seen.

But, inasmuch as we see in the same instant of time, though, for the most part, doing something else, still, as we do contemplate everything that is placed opposite to us, it is the truer and more obvious principle, that it is the mind which, through each of the eyes, sees the objects which are opposite to them, as it were through windows covered with transparent glass or crystal. For refuting which system, Lucretius has made use of a very silly argument. For, if the mind, he says, see through the eyes, it would see still better were the eyes rooted and dug out, because doorways torn out along with their posts introduce more light than when they were covered up. Truly, his own eyes, or rather those of Epicurus, who taught him, were taken out, when they could not perceive that the balls, when scooped out over the broken eye-strings, and the blood flowing through the veins, and the flesh growing out of the wounds, and, finally, the scars drawn across, admit no light, unless they wish that eyes should come on in the nature of ears, so that we should see by means of passages rather than of eyes, than which nothing could be more hideous in appearance or more unsuitable for use; for how very little should

we be able to see, if the mind should apply itself from the inmost recesses of the head through the narrow edges of those holes, in the same way as if any one wished to look through *a stalk of* hemlock, he sees no more than the compass of the hemlock includes. Wherefore, for the purpose of seeing, there was need of members rounded perfectly into an orb, so that the sight should be spread abroad, and also of members which should be situated in the upper part of the face, so that they could freely regard all things. Therefore the ineffable virtue of Divine Providence made two orbs exactly alike, and so fastened them, that they could not be turned round and round, but that still they could be moved and bent in a certain degree. But He wished that the orbs themselves should be full of a pure and liquid humour, in the middle region of which should be held enclosed those sparks of light which we call pupils, in which, pure and subtile as they are, the sense and plan of seeing are contained. Through those orbs, therefore, the mind applies itself to see, and, in a wonderful way, the sight of both eyes is blended and united into one.[22]

OF THE EXTERNAL MEMBERS OF MAN AND OF THEIR USE.

(CHAPTER X.)

In order that the eyes should be better protected from injury, He overlaid them with the covering of the eyelash, whence it pleases Varro *to say* that the eyes were called "oculi", from "occulo". For the eyelids also themselves, to which belongs *a certain* mobility, and to which "palpitation" has given the name "*palpebræ*", entrenched by hairs standing in regular order, afford a most becoming shelter to the eye. The constant motion of which eyelids, coming together as they do with incredible quickness, does not interrupt the continuance of seeing, and, at the same time, refreshes the gaze.

For the sight of the eye, that is, that transparent membrane which must not be suffered to dry and get parched, grows out of use, unless being cleansed by constant moisture, it shines purely. The tops themselves of the eye-brows, furnished with short hairs, what *are they?* Do they not, by mounds as it were, afford at once a protection to the eyes, so that nothing fall into them from above, and also ornament? from the boundary line of which, the nose rising and stretched forward as in an even ridge, at once sepa-

rates and protects each eye. Lower down also the not unbecoming swell of the cheeks, rising into the likeness of hills, renders the eyes more safe upon all sides; and it has been provided by the Supreme Maker, that if any rather severe blow should take place, it should be resisted by the cheeks, *as being* prominent. But the upper part of the nose, as far as the middle, has been made solid; whereas the lower part has been rendered soft by an adhering cartilage, in order that it might be manageable for the use of the fingers. In this, although it be a simple member, three functions have been established: one of drawing breath, another of receiving smell, and a third, that by its cavities, the excrements of the brain may flow off; which cavities, however, God has planned according to a system equally wonderful and divine, in such a way, nevertheless, that the opening of the nose should not deform the beauty of the countenance, which would evidently be the case if but one and a simple passage lay open. But He partitioned and divided it by a party wall, as it were, drawn through the middle, and made it more beautiful by its duality; from which we understand how much the dual number,[23] connected by a single and simple bond, conduces to the perfection of things.

For whereas the body is one, nevertheless the whole could not be made up of simple members, unless, so that there should be right and left hand parts. Accordingly, as the two feet, and also the two hands are available not only for any usefulness and exercise, or for walking, or for doing anything, but also confer an admirable figure and beauty; so in the head, which is, as it were, the summit of the whole divine work, the hearing has been distributed between two ears, the sight between two eyes, and the smell between two nostrils, by the Divine Maker; because the brain, in which is the principle of feeling, although it be but one, is divided into two parts by an intervening membrane. But the heart also, which appears to be the home of wisdom, although it be only one, has nevertheless two divisions internally, in which the fountains of living blood are contained, divided by an intervening fence, so that, as in the world itself, the universe, either two-fold from a simple snbstance, or simple substance divided into two, governs and contains the whole; even so in the human body, all things made up of two should exhibit an indissoluble unity. It cannot be described how becoming and how useful is the appearance also of the mouth, and its opening transversely disclosed, the use of which consists in two functions, that, namely, of taking food, and that of speaking.

Enclosed inside *is* the tongue, which, by its motions, divides

the voice into words, and is the interpreter of the mind: it cannot, however, alone by itself, discharge the functions of speaking unless it strike its tip against the palate, nor without the adjunction or touching of the teeth, or by the compression of the lips; the teeth, however, contribute more to speaking; for neither do children begin to speak before they get their teeth, and old men when their teeth are lost, lisp in such a way that they appear to have at length gone back to infancy. But these things belong to man alone, or to birds, amongst whom the tongue pointed and made to vibrate with certain movements, gives expression to innumerable turns of melody and various modes of sound. It has, moreover, another office which it fulfils in all animals, but which is the only one it fulfils in the dumb animals, namely, that it collects the food broken and ground down by the teeth, and when gathered into a ball, presses it downwards by its own force, and transmits it to the stomach. Therefore, Varro considers that the name "*lingua*" was given to the tongue from its binding together the food (*ligando cibo*). The tongue also helps beasts in drinking, for they draw in water by the tongue stretched forward and hollowed, and the water so contained in the folding of the tongue they clap against the palate with a rapid mobility, lest it should flow off by slowness and delay. The tongue, therefore, is protected by a concave palate, as by a testudo,[24] and God has entrenched it with the fences of the teeth as with a wall.

But the teeth themselves, fixed in order after a wonderful manner, He made graceful by the soft gums called gingivæ, from their generating "*gignendis*", the teeth, and also by the covering of the lips, lest being naked and serried, they should create horror rather than adornment. The hardness of which teeth, as in a mill-stone, is greater and rougher than in the other bones, that they might be able for grinding the various meats and food. How becomingly has He not parted the lips themselves, which previously, as it were, adhered to each other, the upper one of which He has marked with a hollow, as with a gentle valley, exactly under the middle space of the nostrils; the lower one, for the sake of adornment, He has unfolded externally. For with reference to perceiving a flavour, whoever imagines that this sense resides in the palate is deceived, for it is the tongue by which flavours are tasted; nor, however, is it the whole tongue; as, they are its parts which are more tender upon both the sides, that draw in a flavour through most subtile senses. And although nothing is withdrawn from the food or drink (by the operation of

tasting), nevertheless, the flavour penetrates to the sense in an inexpressible way, upon the same principle by which the perceiving of a smell takes away nothing from any material (*producing the smell*).

It is hardly possible to be expressed how beautiful are the other members. The chin gently sloped downwards from the cheeks, and so finished beneath that a slightly stamped division seems to mark its extreme tip; the neck erect and round; the shoulders falling from the neck as by easy declivities; the arms powerful, and braced up for strength by nerves; the great strength of the brawn standing out with conspicuous muscles; the useful and graceful bending of the elbows. What shall I say of the hands, the ministers of reason and wisdom, which being fashioned in a smooth and moderately concave bend, the most skilful of artists has made to terminate in fingers[25] in order that, if anything be to be held, it may fit conveniently into them; in which fingers it is difficult to explain whether there be greater beauty or utility; for both their number is perfect and complete, their order and rank is most becoming, and the flexible curvature of like joints, and the round form of the nails enclosing and strengthening the tops of the fingers, lest the softness of the flesh should yield in the *act of* holding, affords great adornment. But this circumstance is convenient for use in wonderful ways, *namely*, that one of the fingers separated from the others, takes its rise with the hand itself, and is easier turned aside into a different direction; which, as it were, offering itself to meet the others, either alone or principally possesses the entire principle of holding and doing—the rule, as it were, and control of all the others; whence also it has received the name of thumb (pollex) because it "pollet" is powerful amongst the others. It has two external joints, not three, like the other fingers, but one joint is fastened on to the hand by the flesh; for if the thumb also were separated into three joints, the hideous and ungraceful appearance would have taken away beauty from the hands.

OF THE DIVINE INSTITUTION.

Concerning the Paths of Life, and concerning the Vices and the Virtues, and the Rewards of Heaven and Pains of Hell.

(BOOK VI., CHAP. III.)

THERE are two paths, O Emperor Constantine! by *either* of which it is necessary that human life should advance; one which

leads to Heaven, and the other which sinks[26] to Hell; which *two paths*, both have the poets[27] mentioned in their verses, and the philosophers in their disputations. And the philosophers indeed would have it that the one was *the path* of virtues and the other the path of vices; and that the former, which has been assigned to the virtues, is, at the first approach, steep[28] and craggy, upon which road, if any one having overcome the difficulty, shall have reached the top of it, that he has a level road for the remainder of his journey, and a lightsome and pleasant field; and that he receives plentiful and delightful fruits of all his labour. But that those whom the difficulty of the first approach shall have deterred, slip and turn aside into the path of vices, which at its first entrance is, as it were, agreeable and much safer; that, afterwards, when they shall have advanced a little further into it, the appearance of its agreeableness is suddenly withdrawn, but that there arises a precipitous path, now rugged with rocks, now overgrown with thorns, now cut up with gulfs, now headlong with torrents, so that you must labour, cling, slip, and fall; all which matters are brought forward with this intent, that it may appear that in laying hold upon the virtues, our labours are the greatest, but that in their possession exist the greatest fruits and the most solid and incorruptible pleasures. That the vices on the other hand seduce the minds of men by certain natural charms, and draw them, when caught by the appearance of empty enjoyments,[29] to sharp bitternesses and miseries. A very wise disputation, if they understood the natures and the ends of the virtues. For they had not learned either what the virtues are, or what kind of reward awaits them from God, which we shall teach in those two books.

But those who know not, or who doubt that the souls of men are immortal, estimated both virtues and vices by earthly honours or penalties. Therefore, all this *latter* disputation *of that class of writers* has reference to frugality and luxury, for they say that the course of the human life is like the letter Y, because each individual of men, when he has touched the first threshold of youth, and has arrived at that place

> Where the path divides itself into two,

stands hesitating as to what direction he shall incline himself preferably. If he shall have found a guide who may direct him, stumbling as he does, to better courses; that is, if he shall have learned philosophy or eloquence, or anything *in the nature* of an

honourable profession by which he may attain virtue, which cannot be done without the utmost labour, they maintain that he will spend an honourable and fruitful[30] life. That if, however, he shall not have found a teacher of prudence, he falls into the way upon the left, which counterfeits the appearance of the better way—that is, he commits himself to indolence, idleness, and luxury, which things indeed appear sweet for a time to him who does not know the things that are really good; but that afterwards having lost all position and property, he will live in every kind of misery and ignominy. The poets, therefore, who would have it that this double path was in the lower regions, referred more properly perhaps the ends of those paths to the body and to the life which we lead. But they are deceived in this respect, that they assigned those paths to the dead. Both, therefore, have argued truly, but, nevertheless, both have not argued correctly; because it would have been right that the ways themselves should be referred to life, but that their end should be referred to death. We, therefore, argue better and more truly, who say that those two paths are the paths of Heaven and of Hell, because immortality is assigned to the just and eternal punishment to the unjust.

But I shall explain how those ways either raise to Heaven or precipitate to Hell. I shall disclose what are the virtues of which the philosophers were ignorant, as well as what are their rewards; I shall show at the same time, what are the vices and what are their punishments. For, perhaps, some one may expect that I am to speak separately concerning the vices and the virtues, whereas, while we are engaged in a dissertation about good or evil, that also which is contrary to good or evil may be understood; for if you introduce the virtues, the vices will depart of their own accord; or if you take away the vices, the virtues will succeed. The nature of things good and bad is so constituted, that they always attack and always expel each. Thus it happens that neither can the vices be taken away without virtues *being substituted*, nor can virtues be introduced without the removal of vices. We introduce those paths therefore far otherwise than they are wont to be introduced by the philosophers; first, because we say that a guide has been set over each of the paths, and that each guide is immortal, but that the one is honoured who presides over the virtues and the good, that the other is condemned who presides over the vices and the bad. The philosophers also place a leader in the right hand path alone, and that leader is neither always the one nor is he perpetual. As, for instance, they bring

forward any teacher of an honourable pursuit, who withdraws men from indolence and teaches them to be respectable; and moreover they do not represent any to enter upon that path unless boys and young men, because, as it appears, the professions are learned in those ages. But we introduce *human kind* of every sex, and race, and age, into this Heavenly path, because God, who is the leader of this way, denies immortality to no man. The form also of the ways themselves is not as they imagined; for what need is there of the letter Y in things contrary and diverse? But the better way is turned to the rising of the sun, the evil way, to the setting sun; whosoever follows truth and justice, he having received the reward of immortality, shall enjoy light; but whosoever, seduced by that bad guide, shall have preferred the vices to the virtues and falsehood to truth, it is necessary that he be carried off to the setting and to darkness. I shall therefore describe both paths, and their properties and conditions.

Concerning the Paths of Life, concerning the Pleasures, and also concerning the disadvantages of Christians.

(BOOK VI., CHAPTER IV.)

THERE is therefore one way of virtue and of the good, which leads not to the Elysian fields, as the poets say, but to the very citadel of the universe;

> But the path to the left
> Inflicts the punishments of the wicked, and sends downwards to impious Tartarus.

For it is the path of that calumniator who, by instituting perverse *forms of* religion, turns away men from the Heavenly path and leads them into the path of perdition; the appearance and figure of which path is so ordered in aspect, that it appears to be level and open, and delightful with every kind of flowers and of fruits; for in it are placed all things which are taken for good upon the Earth. I mean opulence, honour, pleasure, all seductions; but equally with those, injustice, cruelty, pride, perfidy, lust, cupidity, discord, ignorance, falsehood, folly, and the other vices; but the issue from that way is such as I shall describe. When one shall have reached the extremity from which it is not allowed to return, the path with all its beauty is so suddenly cut off, that no one can detect the imposture, before, having been precipitated, he falls

to a profound depth. For whoever, caught by the semblance of honours, and altogether engaged in acquiring them, shall not have foreseen those things which are to ensue after death, and shall have turned himself away from God, he indeed, driven down into Hell, shall be condemned to everlasting punishment.

But that *other* Heavenly way has been set before us as difficult and rocky; either rough with bristling thorns, or interrupted by projecting cliffs, so that each one must ascend with the utmost labour and wear of the feet, and with the greatest anxiety about falling. Upon this path has He placed justice, temperance, faith, patience, chastity, abstinence, concord, knowledge, truth, wisdom, and the other virtues; but along with those, poverty, ignominy, labour, grief, and all kinds of bitterness. For whoever shall have stretched his hope further forward, and shall have preferred the better things, will do without these advantages of the Earth, in order that, unincumbered and light, he may overcome the difficulty of the way. For neither can he who shall have surrounded himself with royal array, or loaded himself with riches, enter upon or continue in those defiles. Whence it is understood that for this reason, it is easier that the things which they desire should succeed for the wicked and the unjust, because their way is level and sloping; but the things which the good wish for, should proceed with difficulty, because they advance by a difficult and steep path. The just man, therefore, since he has entered upon the hard and rough way, must necessarily be a subject of contempt, derision, and hatred. For all they whom cupidity or pleasure draws headlong, envy him who has been able to embrace virtue, and are displeased that any one should have that which they have not themselves. He, therefore, will be poor, ignoble, humble, exposed to injury, and nevertheless preferring all things that are better. And if he shall have brought along his continual patience to that highest degree and end, the crown of virtue will be given to him, and he will be gifted by God with immortality, by reason of the labours which he will have endured for justice sake. Those are the paths which God has assigned to the human life, in each of which He shows good and bad things, but in an inverted and converse order. For in the one path He has shown us temporal evils, in the first instance, with everlasting advantages, which is the better order; and in the other path He has shown to us temporal advantages, in the first instance, with eternal evils, which is the worse order; so that whoever shall have chosen present evils along with justice, must obtain greater and more certain advantages than those which he contemned; whereas, whoever shall

have preferred present advantages to justice, must fall into greater and more lengthened evils than were those which he fled from. For, because this corporal life is short, by the same reason must its evils and advantages necessarily be short. But inasmuch as the spiritual life, which is opposite to this earthly life, is eternal, by the same reason its evils and advantages are also eternal. Thus it happens that everlasting evils succeed short advantages, and everlasting advantages succeed short evils.

Therefore when both good and evil things are laid before man, it becomes him to consider within himself how much better is it to balance short-lived evils with perpetual advantages, than to endure perpetual evils for short and failing advantages. For, as in this world, when a contest is proposed with an enemy, thou must undergo labour in the first instance, in order that afterwards thou mayst be in peace; thou must suffer hunger; thou must suffer thirst; heat and cold are to be borne; thou must lie upon the ground; thou must watch; thou must encounter danger, in order that, thy pledges being safe, thou mayst enjoy thy house and thy property, and all the advantages of peace and victory; but if thou prefer present quietness rather than labour, thou must necessarily do thyself the greatest injury; for the enemy will be beforehand with the unresisting; thy fields will be laid waste—thy house will be plundered—thy wife and children will be part of the booty—and thou thyself wilt be killed or wilt be taken: in order that all which things may not happen, thy present advantage must be put off, in order that a greater and a longer one be procured for thee: thus, in all this life, because God has reserved an adversary for us, in order that we may lay hold upon virtue, present pleasure is to be relinquished,[31] lest the enemy bring us under; we must watch—we must keep our posts—we must perform our military expeditions—our blood must finally be shed,—in a word, all things bitter and heavy must be patiently borne: the more readily on this account, because God, our general, has appointed eternal rewards for our labours. And, since men exhaust so much labour in this Earthly warfare, that they may procure for themselves things which may perish in the same way in which they have been procured, certainly no labour should be refused by us, by whom that is acquired which can by no means be lost.

For God, who created men for this warfare, willed that they should be unincumbered in the ranks, and that they should watch, with minds acutely intent, against either the snares or the open attacks of a single enemy, who, cruel as he is, catches us accor-

ding to the nature and disposition of each, as skilful and practised generals are accustomed to do. For he infuses into some an insatiable covetousness, in order that he may fling them out of the right way, tied up by their own riches as it were with fetters; others he inflames with the goads of wrath, that he may turn them away from the contemplation of God, being intent rather upon hurting *their fellow man;* others he plunges in immoderate lusts, in order that, being slaves to pleasure and to the body, they may not be able to look back upon virtue. But he breathes envy into others, in order that they themselves, being occupied with their own torments, may think of nothing but the happiness of those whom they hate. Some he inflates with various kinds of ambition.[32] Those are they who apply all the labour and care of their lives to the exercise of magistracies, in order that they may sign the "fasti" and give their own names to their year of office. The cupidity of some tends higher still, not merely that they may govern provinces with the temporal sword, but that they wish they should be called lords of the entire human race, by *reason of their* boundless and perpetual power. But he involves in various forms of religion, those whom he sees pious, in order that he may make them impious. But he drives philosophy into the eyes of those who seek wisdom, in order that he may blind them by the appearance of light, lest any comprehend and hold the truth. Thus, rejoicing in the public errors, he has obstructed all the avenues of salvation, and beset all the paths: which errors that we may be able to dispel, and to vanquish the author of evil himself, God has enlightened us and armed us with the true and Heavenly virtue, concerning which I have now to discourse.

SAINT AMBROSE.

Hexemeron, or, the Six Days of the Creation.

(L. III., CAP. V.)

GOD said that the sea is good. Although the appearance of this element is beautiful, either when it grows white with the rising[33] hills and tops of the waves, and the rocks drip with snowy spray, or when, with its surface curling with mild breezes, and gentle, it wears the purple colour of serene tranquillity, which is frequently poured out to those looking, when it does not beat the neighbouring shores with violent waves, but, as it were, courts them and

salutes them with peaceful embraces. How sweet the sound—how pleasing the noise—how grateful and harmonious the rebound! Nevertheless I do not consider that the beauty of the creation is properly judged by the eyes, but that, according to the manner of its work, it is defined to correspond and agree with the judgment of the Worker.

The sea is therefore good, first, because it supports the lands by the necessary moisture, to which (lands) it secretly supplies a certain by-no-means useless sap through certain veins. The sea is good, being, as it were, the resting place[34] of the rivers, the spring of showers, the drain of inundations, the carriage of provisions, that by which distant peoples are coupled, by which the dangers of wars are removed, by which barbarian rage is shut up, assistance in necessities, refuge in dangers, ornament in pleasures, the health of sickness,[35] the union of those separated, the shortening of journeys, the refuge of those in difficulty, the aid of the revenues, the sustenance of what is sterile. From this, rain is poured out upon the lands, inasmuch as the water is drawn up from the sea by the rays of the sun, and whatever of it is subtile is carried off; then, in proportion as it is raised higher, in the like proportion also does it become more cold by the overshadowing of the clouds, and becomes the shower, which not only moderates the drought of the earth, but also fertilizes the starving[36] fields.

Why should I enumerate the islands which she sets in order like necklaces—in which islands those who withdraw themselves from the seductions of worldly indulgence choose by the faithful purpose of continence to be hid from the world, and to avoid the doubtful windings of this life? The sea is, therefore, the secret of temperance, the exercise of continence, the retreat of seriousness, the port of security, the tranquillity of worldly life, the sobriety of the world, as also an incentive of devotion to faithful and devout men, so that when the songs of psalmodists vie with the sounds of the waves gently bathing the shore, the islands applaud by the tranquil choir of their holy waves—they resound with the hymns of the saints. When can it come to me that I may understand all that beauty of the ocean which its Maker saw? And why enumerate more? What else is that concert of the waters, unless it is a certain concert of the people? Hence the choir is frequently well compared to the sea, which, with the van of the entering multitude, pours forth waters from all his porches, and then, in the prayer of the entire people, sounds as with refluent waters; and the harmonious noise

of the waters echoes with the responses of the psalms, with the song of men, women, virgins, and little ones. For why should I mention this fact, that water washes away sin, and the salutary air of the Holy Spirit breathes upon it?

May the Lord grant to us that we traverse those rivers of events with a prosperous vessel; that we may settle in a safe port; that we may not know any worse temptations of spiritual wickedness than we can bear; that we may be unacquainted with the shipwreck of faith; that we may have profound peace; and if there should at any time be anything which should stir up against us the formidable waves of this world, that we may have as a pilot watching for us the Lord Jesus, who may command with His word, may appease the tempest and restore the tranquillity of the sea: to whom is honour, glory, praise, perpetuity, from all ages, both now and always, for ever and ever.

THAT THE GREEN GRASS IS AN IMAGE OF THE CONDITION OF MAN, THE FRAGILITY OF WHICH IS EXPLAINED BY THE DESCRIPTION.

(CHAPTER VII.)

But why am I to represent[37] for you the wonder of this creature, and express the argument of the wisdom that makes it? For in this form of seeds, and in this function of the green grass, is an image of the human life and nature, and a certain mark of our condition is seen, and a mirror thereof shows forth. This herb and flower of the grass is a figure of the human flesh, as the good interpreter of the Divinity expressed it by the organ of his voice, when he said: *Cry—what shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the glory thereof as the flower of the field. The grass is withered and the flower is fallen, but the word of our Lord endureth for ever.* The word is that of God; the voice is that of man. God says, *Cry;* but He speaks in Isaiah himself. The latter answered: What shall I cry? and, as if he had heard what he should say, he added: All flesh is grass. And truly; for the glory of man flourishes in the flesh like grass, and that which is thought to be sublime, is small as an herb, premature as a flower, perishable as grass. Like a flower displaying the pleasantness of a joyous life, *but* destined to fall in a short time; like the herb of the grass, which withers before it is plucked up; it buds forth

the bloom of life in appearance, not solidity in fruit. For what stability is there in the flesh? What health can be lasting?

To-day thou mayst see the youth strong, advancing to manhood, flourishing in the bloom of his age, of comely presence, of sweet complexion; to-morrow he meets you changed in face and aspect, and he who, the day before, seemed to thee noble, by reason of his becoming beauty, on another day seems an object of pity, being reduced by the infirmity of some sickness. Most men either labour breaks down, or want attenuates, or indigestion tortures, or wine destroys, or old age enfeebles, or pleasures render unmanned, or learning discolours. Is it not true to say that the grass is withered and the flower is fallen? Another, noble along his entire line,[38] decorated with the fillets of his ancestors, illustrious with the insignia of an ancient stock, abounding in friends, accompanied and flanked upon both sides with clients, taking out and bringing home with him an immense train of servants;—the same, being suddenly beaten down by some immense weight of danger that befalls him, is deserted by all, is abandoned by his companions, is assailed by those nearest him. Behold, it is true that the life of man is as the grass: it withers before it is pulled up. There is also *such or a such a man*, who lately, affluent with the abundance of his wealth, constantly floating[39] before the eyes of men by the reputation of his liberality, illustrious in his honours, preëminent in public functions, exalted upon various tribunals, sublime upon a throne, deemed happy by the crowds when he is conducted *and announced* by the voice of heralds; but, by a sudden change of things, is hurried off into that dungeon into which he himself had thrust others, and he bewails, amongst his own criminals, the bitterness of his own imminent punishment. How many on the day before has the troop of applauders, and the envy-provoking train of the thronging people, conducted home, and *yet* a single night has done away with the brilliancy of that glorious convoy, and a sudden pleurisy has admingled the sorrowful succession of weighty affliction to his extravagant rejoicings! Of the same nature, therefore, is the glory of man as the flower of the grass, which also, when it is taken away, adds nothing to the works of man, in which *also* no fruit is acquired, and which, when it is lost, vanishes, abandoning the entire scene of man, both that which it overshadowed from above, and that which it animated within.

THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE

Concerning the evidently miraculous processes of germinating and fructifying.

(CHAPTER VIII.)

"LET the earth", he says, "bring forth the herb of the grass, according to its kind". In all things which are said to be born of the earth, first is the seed:[40] which, when it has raised itself a little, becomes herb, and finally becomes fruit. Those vegetables are born *of the earth*, which spring from the root, as trees which are not planted, spring from the root of other trees. In the reed we see how in its extremity there grows a certain knot from the side, and thence springs another reed. There is, therefore, in the root a certain strength of a seminal principle. Grafted plants also bud in their upper parts. For some, therefore, the course of succession is acquired from the seed, for others from the root, for others from a different process. For there exists in all individual things which are born, either seed or some seminal virtue, and that according to their kind; so that what is born from that virtue, springs up like the things which were sown, or like those from whose root it is. From corn springs[41] corn, from millet, millet; the pear, with its white blossom, from the pear; the chesnut also springs from the root of the chesnut.

"Let the earth", he says, "bring forth the herb of the grass according to its kind". And straightway the earth, bringing forth, poured herself out into new offspring, and put upon her the garment of verdure, took on the grace of fruitfulness, and, decked out with various seedlings, adopted her own adornments. We wonder that she so soon brought forth. How much greater are the wonders, if thou consider individual plants, in what way either the seeds cast into the earth are decomposed, and unless they shall have died, bring forth no fruit; or if they shall have been decomposed by a certain death of their own, arise into more plenteous fruits. Therefore the fallow soil receives the grain of corn, and its fall detains it when scattered, and the earth cherishes and holds it together as it were in its maternal bosom. Then when this grain shall have become decomposed, the pleasing form of the flourishing verdure brings forth the blade, which at once issues forth, a kind according to the likeness of its seminal origin; so that thou mayst recognize in the very commencement of its stalk what kind of herb it is, and so that the fruit may appear in the blade; and gradually it grows up as grass, and ad-

vancing to maturity, stands erect with its stalk and rises upwards. But when the jointed ear shall have raised itself, certain future sheaths are prepared for the corn, in which the grain is formed interiorly, lest either the cold should hurt, or the heat of the sun should burn, or the inclemency of the wind, or the cruel violence of the rains should shake out its tender beginnings. There succeed to the ear[42] certain ranks, formed with wonderful art, which divine Providence has formed beautiful, either as regards appearance or as regards safety, bound by a certain tie of natural connection amongst each other. And lest *that, which is* as it were a certain prop of the stems, should yield under the weight of a more plentiful crop, the stem itself is encased in certain sheaths, so that by doubling its strength it may sustain the manifold crop, lest being unequal to the weight, it should be bent to the earth. Then above the ear itself is spread an entrenchment of barbs, that, as in a kind of citadel, it may present a hedge, lest the ear be hurt by the pecking of the smaller birds, or stripped of its fruits, or trodden by the steps of *passers-by*. What shall I say as to the manner in which the clemency of God has consulted for the use of man?[43] The earth restores what has been lent to her at usury, and restores it multiplied by an accumulation of interest. Men often deceive and defraud their lender by the very *misfortune of their* lot: the earth remains fruitful. And if she should not have paid on any one occasion—if, perchance, the inclemency of the cold, or the excessive drought, or the immense violence of the rains, shall have been adverse to her, she makes good in another year the losses of the preceding one. Thus even when the harvest has disappointed the hope of the husbandman, the earth is in no respect in default; and when she does smile, the fruitfulness of a teeming mother pours itself out in offspring,[44] so that she never inflicts any loss upon her creditor.

But what is not the beauty of the field full in crop! What perfume! What sweetness! What pleasure of the husbandman! What can we explain worthily if we use our own speech? But we have the testimony of the Scriptures, in which we perceive that the sweetness of the land is compared to the benediction and grace of the saints, holy Isaac saying, "The smell of my son is as the smell of a plentiful field". "The smell of my son is as the smell of a plentiful field". Why then shall I describe the purple violets, the white lilies, the glowing roses, the fields, painted, now with golden, now with variegated, now with yellow flowers; in which thou knowest not whether the beauty of

the flowers or their odoriferous power delights the more? Whence the Lord has divinely said: "The beauty of the field is with me"; for that is with Him, which He Himself has formed. For what other artificer could give expression to so much gracefulness of invididual things? Consider the lilies of the field—what whiteness there is in their leaves,[45] how the guarded[46] leaves themselves appear to rise from bottom to top; how they represent the form of a cup; how a certain appearance of gold shines within, which, nevertheless, hedged round by an intrenchment in the circuit of the flower, is open to no injury. If any one pluck this flower, and resolve it into its leaves, where does there exist the hand of any so great an artificer as that he can be able to form again the appearance of the lily? Who is so perfect an imitator of nature that he can presume to renew this flower to which the Lord has borne such testimony as that He should say: "Solomon in all his glory was not clad as one of those". The richest and wisest of kings is rated lower than the beauty of the flower.

Why must I enumerate the health-giving juices of the herbs? why the cures of the shrubs and leaves? The sick stag eats the tender branches of the olive tree, and becomes sound. Gnats will not touch thee if thou boilest the plant of wormwood with oil, and shalt have anointed thyself with it.

Concerning the Origin of Trees, and concerning the Rose, which, first born without thorns, afterwards bristled with them and became the mirror of (human) life.

(CHAPTER XI.)

We have spoken concerning the herb of the grass; now let us speak concerning the fruitful wood bearing fruit[47] according to its kind, of which its fruit is in itself.[48] He said, and they were made; and at once, as in the former instance, the earth was clothed with flowers, and with the verdures of the herbs; so in this instance the earth was clothed with woods. The trees met, the forests rose up together, the tops of the mountains suddenly became leafy; from this direction the pine, from that direction the cypress, reared themselves into lofty summits, the cedars and the pitch-trees came together; and the fir, not content with her earthly roots and airy top, destined as she was to undergo the chances of the sea, with safe rowage; advanced to contend not only with

the winds but with the waves. And moreover, the laurel, never to be stripped of her clothing, arising, gave forth her odour; also the shady holm-oaks, which were to preserve their bristling hair in the winter times, also put forward their top. For in individual things nature has retained in perpetuity the privilege which she received at the very moment of the world's rising. And hence their prerogative remains to the holm-oak, and remains to the cypress, that no winds despoil them of the honour of their hair. The rose mingled with the tender flowers, had formerly risen without thorns, and that most beautiful flower bloomed without any deception. Afterwards the thorn hedged in the beauty of the flower, exhibiting, as it were, an image of the human life, which often stings the sweetness of its enjoyment[49] by the neighbouring goads of cares. For the beauty of our life is entrenched and, as it were, fenced round by certain anxieties, so that sadness may be linked to grace. Hence, when each one rejoices either in the sweetness of his reason,[50] or in the successes of his prosperous course, it is fit that he should remember that (original) fault, by which, while we were flourishing in the delight of Paradise, the thorns of the mind and the briars of the soul were annexed to us in right of our condemnation. Although, therefore, O man! thou mayst glitter either with the splendour of nobility, or on the pinnacle of power, or with the lustre of virtue, the thorn is ever next to thee, the briar is ever next to thee! Always look to the things beneath thee; thou dost bud above thorns, nor does a long beauty await thee. Each one withers, the brief flower of his age being run out.[51]

The wonderful diversity of the Water.

(CHAPTER XV.)

It is an inexplicable work to attempt to seek out the properties of individual things, and either to distinguish their diversities by manifest evidence, or to disclose their lurking and hidden causes by inexhaustible demonstration. Water, for instance, is one and the same thing, and for the most part changes itself into different forms. It runs either yellow amongst the sands, or foamy amongst the rocks, or of a greenish hue amongst the woods, or more sparkling amongst the roses, or more liquid in the grass, or more troubled in the marsh, or clearer in the spring, or darker in the sea, having assumed the colour of the places into which it

flows. It also changes its consistence in like manner, so that it heats in warm places, it grows cold in shady places, it boils up when stricken by the sun, and when sprinkled with snow it becomes hoary with the icy moisture. In the same way its flavour is changed, so that at this moment rough, at this moment bitter, now strong, now sharp, now sweet, it varies according to the quality of the kinds (of substance) into which it is infused.[52] It is made tart by the less ripe juices, the bark of the nut being pounded, and its leaves broken; it becomes more bitter by wormwood, stronger by wine, coarser by garlic; it gets drugged[53] with poison; it sweetens by honey. But if gum, or the fruit of the turpentine tree, or the interior part of the nut, be mingled with it, it is easily transfused[54] into the soft nature of oil.[55] But while it is the nurse of all shrubs, it supplies different uses to each. If it water the root, or descend, poured out from the clouds, it gives separate kinds of strength to all (*the parts of the tree*); it enriches the root, it carries forward the trunk, it spreads the branches, it causes the leaves to be green, it nourishes the seeds of the fruits, and it has usually increased the apple.[56] Therefore, although the nurse of all shrubs be the same, some descriptions of trees have more bitter juices, some sweeter, some late, some early. The trees themselves that are *sweet* differ in their kinds of sweetness. There is one *kind* of sweetness in the vine, another in the olive, another in the cherry, another in the fig, a different sweetness in the apple, an unequal sweetness in the date.

The feel itself of the water is in one place gentle, in another harsher, for the most part somewhat oily.[57] It often differs in gravity as in appearance; for in many places it is considered heavier, in many lighter. It is not wonderful, therefore, if, when water differs from itself, the tears also of trees, which are generated by the bathing of the same water, should differ from each other. And though there be the one cause of all, the use of each of the exudations is different, and their nature is diverse. The tear of the cherry tree has one quality, that of the gum tree another. The scented woods of the East are said also to sweat a different kind of balsam. The shrub of the reeds in Egypt and Lybia also, by a certain energy of their interior nature, weep a different kind of tears.

But why should I in lowly speech contend with the lofty and precious system of nature, when the human speech is fed by human genius, whereas the Divine Providence has formed the nature of all? Whence the diffusion of words is to be restrained,

as by certain reins, lest we appear usurpingly to expound the difference and the virtues of roots, and whatever things are hidden and unforeseen, as it has been written (a privilege which appears to have been specially conferred upon Solomon from above[58] by the gift of wisdom), which matters nevertheless are not delivered so manifestly even by him, that it should appear to me that he could have written[59] concerning the kinds of shrubs, and nevertheless could not have explained more fully all the principles of the creature.[60]

CONCERNING THE SUN.

VI.—*He prepares the reader for the right understanding of the sun, and for avoiding the madness of idolatry therein, concerning which matters he institutes a comparison of the same (sun) with its Author, and explains its rank amongst other creatures, adding an elegant prosopopeia of the Earth.*

He who collects the wine harvest is accustomed to cleanse, in the first instance, the vessels into which the wine is poured. For of what avail is it to place the vine in rank, to dig round it every year, to draw furrows with the plough, to prune, to raise up, to join to the elms, and, as it were, to couple them in a kind of marriage, if the wine sought out with so much care, must sour in the vessel? If any one also wish to gaze upon the morning rays of the sun, he cleanses his eyes, lest any particle of dust, or any portion of excrement[61] fall into his eyes, by which the gaze of him contemplating may be dulled, and in order that no cloudy mist may cover the corporeal sight of him who gazes. For us in *our course of* reading there must rise a sun which shall not have existed previously. We have already gone through the first day without a sun, we have passed the second without a sun, we have finished the third without a sun. On the fourth day God commands the luminaries, the sun and moon and stars, to be made. The sun begins. Cleanse the eyes of thy mind, O man! the interior gaze of thy spirit, lest any mote of sin may touch the sight of thy intellect and disturb the pure gazing of thy heart. Cleanse thy ear, that thou mayst receive in a clean vessel the bright[62] streams of the divine Scripture, lest any contagion may enter. The sun proceeds, filling the day with his great beams, filling the world with his great light, warming it with his heat. Take care, O

man! that thou dost not weigh his greatness merely, lest his excessive radiance blind the eyes of thy intellect, in the same manner as he who, right opposite, directs *his eye* to his ray, by reason of the reflected light, loses all power of sight, and unless he turn his countenance and his eyes to another direction, considers that he sees nothing, and that he is deprived of the gift of seeing; but if he turn away his gaze, the function *of seeing* remains entire to him. Take care, therefore, that his arising ray may not confound thy sight also. And first therefore behold the firmament of Heaven, which was made before the sun; look upon the Earth, which, before the sun advanced, began to be visible and organized; look upon the germs, which were anterior to the light of the sun. The caterpillar is older than the sun, the grass is older than the moon. Do not, therefore, believe that to be a god, to which you see the gifts of God are preferred. Those days were passed, and no one looked for the sun, and the clearness of light abounded. For the day has its own light, which goes before the sun. Do not therefore rashly abandon thyself to this so great light of the sun. For he is the eye of the world, the delightfulness of the day, the beauty of the sky, the excellence of creation.

But when thou seest him, consider his Author. When thou dost admire him, first praise the Creator of the same. If the sun, a partner and partaker of creation, be so pleasing, how good is not that sun of justice! If that be admirable which is commanded to go forth, how far beyond admiration is not He who commands the sun (*to keep back*), and the sun does not arise, as we read! If the sun be great, who, through the alternations of the hours, either approaches to, or departs from, places daily, of what kind is He, who, even when He was making Himself void,[64] was the true light which enlighteneth every man coming into the world? If he be very excellent, who by the projection of the Earth often suffer eclipse, of how great majesty is not He who says: Yet will I alone once move the Earth. The Earth hides the former: it cannot sustain the motion of the latter unless it be propped up by the substance of His will. If it be a loss to the blind man not to see the beauty of the sun, how much greater a loss is it not to the sinner, that he, deprived of the gift of the true light, should endure the darkness of everlasting night!

Therefore, when thou seest the sun, consider the Earth which was established before it. Consider the herb of the grass which excels in the privilege of rank; consider the trees[65] which applaud (themselves) because they began to be before the luminaries of Heaven. Is the merit of the grass greater than that of the sun,

or is the prerogative of the tree preferable? Far be it from us that we should prefer inanimate things to the minister of so great an office. What, therefore, had the depth of the knowledge and of the wisdom of God in view (*when He ordained*) that the trees should begin to exist before those two luminaries of the world, and indeed eyes of the Heavenly firmament, unless that all men might know upon the evidence of the divine reading, that the Earth could be fruitful without the sun? For *the Earth* which could germinate the original seeds of things without the sun, that same Earth certainly can cherish the seeds once received, and by its nurture bring forth offspring without the heat of the sun.

Nature, therefore, exclaims with this certain voice of her gifts: "The sun is good indeed, but for service, not for command; he is a good aid of my fruitfulness, but not its creator; he is a good nursing-father of my fruits, but not their author. Sometimes he himself burns up my offspring: frequently he himself is an injury to me. In many places he leaves me unendowed. I am not ungrateful to my fellow-servant; he has been given to me for my use, he has been assigned to labour, with me he has been subjected to vanity, with me he has been reduced to the servitude of corruption. He groans along with me, he brings forth along with me, that the adoption of the sons *of men* and the redemption of the human race may come, by which we also may be liberated from servitude. Present with me, he praises the author of his being, along with me he says a hymn to the Lord our God. Where his thanks are greatest, there my association is common with him.[66] When the sun blesses, the Earth blesses, the fruit-bearing trees bless, the flocks bless, the birds bless along with me. The sailor placed upon the sea accuses the sun and longs for me. Upon the mountains the shepherd avoids him, he hastens to my groves, to my trees, by which when overheated he may be sheltered; when thirsty and weary he runs to my fountains.

CONCERNING THE ANIMALS.

Concerning the cunning of the Polypus and the Crab, by which fraudulent men are represented, with an exhortation to fly avarice.

(BOOK V., C. VII.)

AND since we have begun to frame[67] a discourse concerning the cunning by which each one endeavours to circumvent and to de-

ceive his brother, and to arrange himself for new frauds, so that whomsoever he cannot take by violence, he may hem in by violence, and may cover as it were with a certain paint of art: I shall not pass over that fraudulent disposition of the polypus, who, having found a rock upon a fordable coast, clings to that rock, and by means of the dusky complexion of his substance takes the colour of the rock, and having clothed his back with a similar appearance, includes, in the mischances of his stealthy art and as it were in a fold of his flesh, several of the fishes who have strayed up to him without any suspicion of deceit, because they are not on their guard against his *distinctive* marks, and think he is a rock. Thus does *man* come a spontaneous prey, and is caught by arguments such as are those of men who often change their disposition, and set in motion various arts of doing injury, that they may catch the minds and feelings of individuals, when placed with those who are continent, preaching continence; in the assembly of the intemperate, acting as men who have strayed from the pursuit of chastity, and are sunk in the enticements of intemperance, in order that those who hear or see them may trust themselves with incautious facility, and may fall the more quickly on that account, because they know not how to avoid nor to be on their guard against what is hurtful, inasmuch as improbity is greater and more noxious, overshadowed with the veil of benignity. And therefore, they are to be guarded against, who scatter far and wide the hairs and arms of their deceit, or put on a variety of appearances. For they also are polypi, having many knots and traces of cunning minds, by which they may immesh whatever shall have fallen upon the rocks of their deceit.

The crab also, what stratagems does he not use for the sake of food; for he also is delighted with the oyster, and seeks for himself a banquet of his flesh: but because the crab, as well as being greedy of food, is wary of danger (since the hunt is both difficult and dangerous—difficult, because the food within is enclosed by strong shells; for nature, the interpreter of the imperial command, has protected the softness of the oyster's flesh with, as it were, certain walls, which flesh she nourishes and cherishes in a kind of hollow lap between the shells, and spreads as in a certain valley, and therefore all the efforts of the crab are vain, because by no force can he open the enclosure of the oyster; and it is dangerous if the oyster should enclose his claw); he has recourse to stratagem, and plans ambush with a novel *kind* of deceit. Therefore, because animals of all kinds are mollified by enjoyment, he searches if, at

any time the oyster, in places remote from every wind, opens that diptych[68] of his, opposite to the rays of the sun, and unlocks the enclosure of his shells, that, in the free air, he may enjoy some certain pleasure of his entrails; and then the crab, stealthily introducing a pebble, prevents the closing of the oyster, and thus, finding the enclosure opened, he safely inserts his claws, and feeds upon the entrails within.

There are, therefore, men who, after the manner of the crab, creep into the use of *what lies within another man's* boundary, and prop up the weakness of their own merit by a certain cunning; they frame[69] deceit for their brother, and feed upon the misery of another man. But do thou be content with what is thine, and let not the losses of others feed thee. The simplicity of innocence is a good food. Having her own possessions, she knows not how to ambush for the people's possessions; nor does she burn with the torches of avarice, to which every gain is a loss as to virtue, and an incentive to cupidity. And therefore poverty with truth is blessed,[70] and preferable to all treasures if she know her own advantages; because a little, given with the fear of God, is better than great treasures given without that fear. For how little does it take to support a man! Or even if thou seekest what may abound for others unto kindness, neither is that much, for hospitality in herbs with good will is better than the preparation of fatted calves with discord. Let us, therefore, use our talent for acquiring grace and protecting salvation—not for circumventing the innocence of others. It is right for us to make use of examples drawn from the sea for the advancement of our own salvation, and not for the endangering of that of others.

XI.—*Concerning the fishes of the Atlantic Sea; also concerning salt, coral, and some other matters. That, on account of those, but especially on account of navigation, the sea excels the land. Then, after mention of a few matters concerning Jonah and Peter, the discourse closes.*

Let us come to the Atlantic Sea. How great and of what infinite magnitude are not the whales there! which, if at any time they swim above the surface of the waves, thou mightest imagine that they are islands which move, that lofty mountains stand forwards towards Heaven with their topmost peaks: which monsters are said to be seen, not on the strand or upon coasts, but in the depth of the Atlantic Sea, so that most are called back from the

presumption of sailing there by their aspect; nor do they take it upon themselves to visit the secret seats of the elements without a supreme dread of death.

But let us arise ourselves from the depth of the sea, and let our discourse emerge somewhat, and raise itself to things above; let us contemplate those things which are experienced by many, and are full of beauty; how the water is changed into the solidity of salt, so that it is often cut with iron: which circumstance is nothing wonderful concerning the British kinds of salt, which, being solid after the nature of marble, are resplendent with the snowy whiteness of the same mineral,[71] salubrious for the food of the body, and excessively grateful for drink. Let us also contemplate how the not unbecoming stone of the coral is in the sea an herb, but when transferred to the air, is solidified into the firmness of a stone. *Let us consider* whence also nature has implanted in the oysters the most precious pearl, and how the water of the sea can have solidified it in so soft a flesh. Those things which are found with difficulty amongst Kings, the same lie as of no value commonly, and are collected amongst the rugged rocks and cliffs. The water also nourishes the golden fleece, and the shores produce moss after the appearance of the metal in question, the colour of which, none of those who cover fleeces, with various dyes, can imitate; to such an extent is it true, that human industry knows not how to imitate the beauty of nature as it exists in the sea. We know with what solicitude even the less precious fleeces of sheep are attended to; but, although they should be of the best description, no dye is innate to them; hence comes a natural colour which no dye has ever equalled. But the shell-fish themselves, who supply the royal colour, are from the sea.

And what beauty of the meadows, or what pleasantness of gardens, can equal the painting of the cerulean sea? Although in the meadows the flowers have the refulgence of gold, in the sea the moss shines with the refulgence of gold; and the former quickly withers—the latter is preserved for a long duration. The lilies shine from afar in the gardens; the sails upon the ships. Here fragrance breathes; here breathes the wind. What usefulness in the leaf; what commerce in ships. Lilies carry to us the enjoyment of the nostrils; sails carry the well-being of men. Add to this the bounding fishes and the sporting dolphins; add the waves sounding with a hoarse murmur; add the ships advancing to the shore or going forth from the shores. When the chariots are sent *forward* from the starting-post, with how much zeal and pleasure of the speculators is not the contest pursued!

Nevertheless the horse runs to no purpose; but not to no purpose the ship. The former runs in vain, because he is empty; the latter for utility, because she is full of corn. What can be more graceful than those things which are moved, not by the lash, but by the breathings of the winds,—where no one resists, but all are anxious for success,—where no one is vanquished, whosoever shall have come to port, but all the vessels which shall have arrived are crowned *alike*,—where the palm is the salary of safety, and victory is the reward of return?

What can I say worthy *of the subject* concerning Jonas, whom the whale secured unto life and restored to the grace of prophecy? The water corrected him whom earthly things had turned aside; he who was grieving upon the earth sang psalms in the belly of the whale. And in order that the redemption of both elements be not passed over by us, the salvation of the earth went before upon the sea, because the sign of Jonas is the sign of the Son of Man; as the former was in the womb of the whale, so was Jesus in the heart of the earth. There was a remedy in both, but the example of piety was greater in the sea, since the fishes secured him whom men had rejected, and the fishes supported Him whom man had crucified. Peter also stumbles in the sea, but he does not fall, and he who confessed *the Lord* upon the sea nevertheless denied Him upon earth. Therefore, here, as a devoted *servant*, he is taken by the hand; there, as one forgotten, is found by a rebuking glance. But let us now ask the Lord that our discourse may be cast upon the land as was Jonas, that it may not any longer toss upon the brine. And now our gourd has well advanced so as to shelter us from our evils, and the same as the sun proceeds, having dried up, admonishes that we must rest, lest upon the earth we may begin to be straitened for *ebb of* intellect, and words also may fail us. Certainly to us more than to the Ninevites, the remission of sins was given in the waters.

SAINT AUGUSTIN.

THE CONFESSIONS.

He converts Alypius from the folly of the Circensian Games.

(BOOK VI., CH. VII.)

We who lived together as friends, united our groans upon those things; and I spoke of those matters principally and most

familiarly with Alypius and Nebridius: of whom Alypius was a native of the same municipal town as I; younger than I, and born of parents foremost in rank in their town. For he had pursued his studies under me when I began to teach in our town, and afterwards in Carthage; and he loved me much because I seemed to him good and learned, and I loved him on account of his great natural virtue,[72] which was sufficiently conspicuous in no very advanced age. Nevertheless the gulf of Carthaginian immorality in which trifling exhibitions are the rage, had sucked him into the madness of the Circensian games. But while he was miserably engaged in them, and I professing rhetoric there made use of the public school, he did not as yet attend me as a master, on account of a certain variance which had sprung up between myself and his father; and I had discovered that he loved the circus to a fatal excess; and I was grievously pained because he seemed to me destined to lose, or to have lost already, the so great promise *of his youth*. But there was no opportunity of admonishing or calling him back by any constraint, either by the kindliness of friendship or by the authority of the master. For I thought he was disposed towards me in the same way as his father, but he was not so. Therefore, disregarding in this matter the will of his father, he began to salute me, coming to my class, and to hear somewhat and to withdraw. But it had also slipped from my memory to deal with him, that so excellent a nature should not perish through the blind and headlong love of vain games.

Nevertheless, thou, O Lord, who presidest over the helms of all whom thou hast created, hadst not forgot that he was destined to be amongst thy sons, the prelate of thy sacrament, and in order that his correction should be attributed openly to thee, thou didst work it by me indeed, but by me not knowing it. For on a certain day, when I was sitting in my accustomed place, and my pupils were present before me, he came, saluted me, sat down, and applied his mind to those things that were being discussed. And by chance a reading[73] was in my hands, which while I was explaining, it appeared to me that an illustration of the Circensian games might be suitably applied, by which what I was conveying might become plainer and more agreeable, with a biting derision of those whom that madness had captivated. Thou knowest, O my God, that at that time I did not think of curing Alypius of that plague. But he snatched it up to himself, and believed that I had not said it except on account of him. And what another would have taken in such a way as to be angry

with me, the excellent youth took up so as to be angry with himself and to love me more ardently. For thou hadst said of old and hadst woven into thy Scriptures: Correct the wise man, and he will love thee.

But it was not I who corrected him; but thou, making use of all men both aware and unaware, in the order which thou knowest and which order is best, hast wrought out of my word burning coals by which thou mightest inflame and heal that mind growing dull to good hope. Let those be silent upon thy praises who do not consider thy mercies, which are confessed by me from my very marrow. For he, after those words, tore himself out of the pit so deep, wherein he was willingly sunk, and although he was blinded by miserable pleasure, he aroused his mind by vigorous temperance, and all the pollutions of the Circensian games sprung back from him, and he did not go there any more. But then he persuaded his reluctant father that he should follow me as a teacher. The latter gave way and yielded. And beginning to attend me again, he was involved with me in that superstition, loving in the Manichæans that ostentation of temperance which he thought true and genuine. But that superstition was foolish and seductive, captivating precious souls, which did not yet know how to reach the loftiness of virtue, and were easy to be deceived by the surface, but still *the surface* of a shadowy and counterfeit virtue.

II.—*Alypius is caught by the madness of the gladiatorial games, to which he had previously been adverse.*

And truly, not leaving the earthly course which had been preached up to him by his parents, he went to Rome, that he might learn jurisprudence, and there he was hurried off incredibly, and by an incredible desire of the gladiatorial shows. For although he was averse from, and detested such things, some friends and fellow pupils of his, when by chance he met them returning along the way, led him, vehemently refusing and resisting, with familiar violence, on the days of those cruel and fatal games, while he said what follows: "If you draw my body to that place and place it there, can you apply my mind and my eyes to those shows? Therefore, though present, I shall be absent, and will thus overcome both them and you". Having heard which, they nothing the less led him along with them, perhaps desiring to

find out whether he could accomplish that very thing which he had promised. Whither when they had come, and were placed in whatever seats they could, everything was on fire with those monstrous pleasures.

But he, having closed the doors of his eyes, forbade his mind that it should proceed to such things, and would also that he had stopped his ears. For at a certain incident of the fight, when a great clamour of the entire assembly vehemently struck him, overcome by curiosity, and as it were prepared to despise and overcome that thing, whatever it might be, even when seen; he opened his eyes, and he was stricken by a more grievous wound in his soul, than was he whom he desired to see, in the body; and he fell more miserably than did he at whose fall[74] that clamour took place, which entered by his ears and unlocked his eyes, so that there might be an opening through which his mind, daring rather than brave, and the weaker on this account, that it presumed concerning itself what it should have presumed concerning thee, might be wounded and overthrown. For, as soon as he saw that blood, he at the same time drank in cruelty, and he did not turn himself away, but fixed his gaze, and he quaffed the furies, and he knew it not, and he was delighted with the wickedness of the conflict, and was intoxicated with the bloody pleasure. And he was no longer the same man who had come thither, but one of the crowd to which he had come, and a real companion of those by whom he had been led along. Why should I say more? He looked on—he shouted—he blazed out—he carried away with him from the place the madness, by which he was encouraged, not only to return with those by whom he had first been drawn away from virtue, but even before them, and drawing others with him. And nevertheless thou, by thy most strong and merciful hand, hast delivered him from thence, and brought him, not to have confidence in himself, but in thee. But, however, this was already laid up in his memory for his future cure.

III.—*Alypius is taken up as a thief.*

For, with regard to this circumstance, that while he was still following his studies and attending my course in Carthage, and was thinking over in the forum in the middle of the day what he was to declaim, as students are usually exercised, thou didst

permit that he should be taken up by the Æditui. I do not think, O my God! that thou didst permit this for any other reason than that he who was destined to be so great a man, might already begin to learn how necessary it is, that, in deciding causes, man should not readily be condemned by man with rash credulity. Since, he was walking alone before the tribunal, with his tablets and his stylus, when behold, a youth of the number of the students, who was the real thief, carrying secretly a hatchet with him, entered, without being perceived by him (Alypius) the leaden railings which stand out over the silversmith's street, and began to cut the lead. But, the sound of the hatchet being heard, the silversmiths who were beneath, whispered, and sent a person to apprehend any one whom by chance they might find. Having heard the sound of whose voices (*the silversmiths'*), he (*the thief*), leaving the instrument behind him, departed, fearing lest he should be detained with it.

But Alypius, who had not seen him going in, perceived him going out, and saw him going away quickly, and, wishing to know the cause, he entered the place, and standing and wondering, he was looking at the hatchet which he had found, when behold, they who had been sent, found him alone carrying the iron, roused by the sound of which they had come. They hold him—they drag him along—they congratulated the assembled inhabitants of the forum as though they had caught a manifest thief—and he was led from them to be presented to the judge. But up to this period he was to be instructed. For immediately thou, O God, didst come to the aid of that innocence of which thou alone wert the witness. For while he was being taken along either to prison or to punishment, there meets him a certain architect who had the principal care of the public buildings. They (*the captors of Alypius*) rejoice that he of all other men should come in the way, to whom they were usually objects of suspicion for the stolen things which had been lost from the forum, as it were, that he should at length learn by whom those things were done.

But, as the fact was, the man had often seen Alypius in the house of a certain senator whom he had been in the habit of going to visit; and, taking by the hand Alypius, whom he at once recognized, he removed him from the crowd; and, inquiring the cause of so great a misfortune, he heard what had happened, and he ordered all those who were present raising disturbance and murmuring in a threatening way, to come with him, and they came to the house of that youth who had committed the offence. But the servant boy was before the door, and was

so small that, that fearing nothing therefrom for his master, he was easily able to tell the whole occurrence, inasmuch as he had been with him in the forum as his page. Whom, when Alypius had recognized, he intimated it to the architect; but the latter showed the hatchet to the boy, asking him whose it was; who at once: It is ours, he says; and thereupon being questioned, he disclosed the rest. Thus the accusation, being transferred to that house, and the crowds who had begun to triumph over him being put to confusion, thy future dispenser of the word and adjudicator of many causes in thy Church, departed more experienced and more instructed.

The Integrity of Alypius.

(CHAP. X.)

I FOUND him, therefore, at Rome, and he clung to me in the closest bond, and departed with me for Milan, in order both that he might not leave me, and, that of the jurisprudence which he had learned, he might practise somewhat, according to the desire of his parents rather than his own. And he acted as assessor to the others with wonderful uprightness, as he wondered at those only who preferred gold to innocence. His character was also tried, not only by the seduction of avarice, but by the incitement of fear. At Rome he was assessor to the Count of the Italian Bounties.[75]

There was at this time a certain most powerful senator by whose favour many were bound, and to the terror of whom many were subdued. He wished that something, I know not what, which was not allowable according to law, should be allowable to him after the fashion of his power: Alypius withstood; a bribe was promised; he derided it in his mind; threats were held out; he trod them under foot, while all wondered at that uncommon soul, which neither desired as a friend nor dreaded as an enemy, a man celebrated by wide repute for innumerable means of serving or injuring *others*. But the judge himself to whom Alypius was adviser, although he himself did not wish the *illegal permission* to take place, did not however openly refuse, but transferring the matter to Alypius, asserted that he was not allowed to act by the latter, because (and the fact was so) if he, the judge, were to do it, the assessor would retire. But he was almost

enticed by this one literary taste, that he should procure books to be prepared for him out of the prætorian fees.[76] But justice being consulted, he directed his deliberation to the better course, considering more useful the spirit of justice by which the thing was forbidden, than the power by which it was allowed. This is a small matter, but he who is faithful in a small thing is faithful also in a great thing. By no means shall that saying be void which has gone forth from thy mouth: If you have not been faithful in the mammon of injustice, who will trust to you what is true? and if in what belongs to another man you are not faithful, who will give to you what is your own? Being, therefore, what he was, he then clung to me, and with me he wavered in purpose as to what kind of life was to be pursued.

He relates the death and baptism of a friend, whom also he had involved in his errors, and who being removed by death, he grieves most bitterly.

(BOOK IV., C. IV.)

In those years, at the time when I first began to teach in the free town in which I was born, I had acquired a friend extremely dear to me in the companionship of our studies, of equal age with myself, and blooming along with me in the flower of his age. He had grown from boyhood along with me, and we had gone to school together, and had played together. But he was not yet a friend in this sense, although not even then having friendship such as is true friendship, because friendship is not true unless thou dost cement it amongst those who cleave unto thee by the charity diffused in our hearts by the Holy Spirit who has been given to us. But still this friendship was too sweet, drawn together by the glow of the same pursuits. For I also turned him aside from the true faith, which, as a youth, he did not yet hold genuinely and thoroughly, into the superstitious and pernicious fables, on account of which my mother bewailed me. That man now wandered with me in my mind, and my soul could not be without him. And behold thou wert close upon the back of thy fugitive, God of vengeance, and fountain of mercies at once; who convertest us to thee in wondrous ways, behold thou hast taken the man from this life before he had completed a year in my friendship, sweet to me above all the sweetnesses of that my life.

What one man shall recount thy praises which he has experienced in himself alone? What didst thou then do, O my God, and how unsearchable is the abyss of the judgments! For when he was suffering from fever he lay for a long time in the sweat of death.[77] And when he was despaired of, he was baptized without his knowledge, and while I cared nothing about it, but presumed that his soul would retain that rather which it had received from me, and not what was being done in the body of one unconscious. But it was far otherwise, for he was refreshed and cured. And as soon as I was able to speak with him (but I was able to do so immediately that he was, since I had not left him, as we hung too much from each other), I tried to ridicule to him, as if he would join with me in deriding, the baptism which he had received when quite absent[78] in mind and feeling; but, nevertheless, he had learned that he had received it. But he abhorred me even as an enemy, and admonished me with a wonderful and sudden freedom, that if I wished to be his friend, I should cease from saying such things to him.

But I, stupefied and disturbed, put off all my movements in order that he should first be convalescent, and by reason of the strength of his health should be fit with whom to discuss such matters as I might wish. But he, torn away from my folly, in order that he might be kept with thee for my consolation, a few days after, in my absence, is again attacked by the fever and dies. By which grief my heart was darkened, and everything that I saw was death. And my country was to me an infliction, and my father's house a marvellous unhappiness, and whatever I had shared with him was turned into grievous torture without him. My eyes sought him everywhere, and he was not given to me, and I hated all things because they had him not, and could not say to me: Behold, he comes, as when he was living, should he be absent. And I became to myself a great question, and I asked my soul why she was sad and disturbed me very much, and she knew nothing to answer to me. And if I said: Hope in God: she was right in not obeying, for he, that dearest one whom she had lost, was a more real and better man than the phantasm in which it was commanded that I should hope.[79] Weeping was alone pleasing to me, and had succeeded my friend amongst the delights of my soul.

CONVERSION OF SAINT AUGUSTIN.

With the view of ordering his life better, he determines to go to Simplicianus.

(BOOK VIII., CH. I.)

My God, may I be mindful in the giving of thanks to thee, and may I confess thy mercies regarding me. Let my bones be bathed in thy love, and say: Lord, who is like unto thee? Thou hast broken my chains. I will sacrifice unto thee a sacrifice of praise. I will tell how thou hast broken them, and all who adore thee shall say when they shall hear those things: Blessed is the Lord in Heaven and upon Earth; great and wonderful is His name. Thy words had sunk into my heart, and I was encompassed by thee. I was certain about thy eternal life, although I saw it in a riddle and, as it were, in a looking-glass. However, all doubt concerning thy incorruptible substance, and that from it every substance is derived, was taken away from me, and I desired to be, not more certain regarding thee, but more steadfast in thee. But, regarding my temporal life all things were wavering, and my heart was worldly from the old leaven, and the Saviour Himself was pleasing in His path, and *yet* it was still irksome to pass through His narrow ways.

And thou didst send *the desire* into my mind, and it appeared good in my sight to go to Simplicianus, who appeared to me thy good servant, and thy grace shone in him. For I had heard that from his youth he had lived most devotedly to thee. But he was then old, and in his long life he appeared to me to have experienced much and to have learned much in his so virtuous pursuit of following thy way: and truly it was so.

Simplicianus relates the conversion of Victorinus the Rhetorician.

I went, therefore, to Simplicianus, my father, in receiving the grace of the then Bishop Ambrose,[80] and whom he truly loved as a father. I related to him the rounds of my wanderings. But when I mentioned that I had read some of the books of the Platonists (which Victorinus, formerly a rhetorician of the city of Rome, who, as I had learned, died a Christian, had translated into the Latin tongue), he congratulated me that I had not fallen upon the writings of other philosophers, full of fallacies

and deceptions with reference to the elements of this world; whereas in the former God and His word were suggested in every way. Then, in order that he might exhort me to the humility of Christ, hidden from the wise and revealed to the little ones, he called to mind Victorinus himself, whom he had known most intimately when he was at Rome, and he related concerning him what I shall not suppress.

For it contains a great praise of thy grace to be confessed unto thee, the way in which that most learned old man, he who was perfectly versed in all the liberal studies, and who had read and given judgment upon so many works of the philosophers, the instructor of so many noble senators, who also, as a mark of his illustrious tenure of office, which[81] the citizens of this world consider excellent, had earned and received a statue in the Roman Forum, up to that period of his life an adorer of idols and a partaker in their sacrilegious rites (inflated with which at that time almost the entire Roman nobility, breathed into the people even the barking Anubis, and monstrous varieties of all kinds of gods, which had once held arms against Neptune and Venus and against Minerva, and to *which*, though vanquished by herself, Rome addressed supplications,—monsters whom Victorinus during so many years had been in the habit of defending with a thundering mouth), did not blush to become a child of thy Christ and an infant of thy font, having submitted his neck to the yoke of thy humility and subdued his forehead to the disgrace of the cross.

O Lord, Lord, who didst incline the heavens and didst descend, who didst touch the mountains, and they smoked, in what way didst thou insinuate thyself into that breast? He read, as Simplicianus says, the holy Scripture, and he studiously investigated and scrutinized the Christian writings, and said to Simplicianus, not openly, but in a more secret and private way, "Thou knowest that I am already a Christian"; and the latter answered, "I will not believe, nor will I reckon thee amongst the Christians, unless I see thee in the Church of Christ". But he ridiculed him, saying, "Do the walls, therefore, make the Christian?" and he often said this, that he was a Christian. And Simplicianus often answered that same thing, and the jest about the walls was repeated by Victorinus. For he was timid about offending his friends, the proud worshippers of demons, from the summit of whose Babylonian dignity, as from the cedars of Libanus, which the Lord had not yet broken down, he thought that enmities would terribly rush upon him.

But after he derived steadfastness from reading and wrapt meditation,[82] and feared to be denied by Christ before His angels, if he should fear to confess Him before men, and he appeared to himself to be guilty of a great crime in blushing at the rites[83] of the humility of Thy word, and in not blushing at the sacrilegious rites of the proud demons, which he a proud imitator of them had received; he was past the shame of vanity, and he blushed at what was true,[84] and suddenly and unexpectedly says to Simplicianus, as the latter himself tells us: "Let us go to the church: I wish to become a Christian". But he, not containing himself for joy, went with him. But when he was imbued with the first mysteries of instruction, not long after he gave his name, that he might be regenerated by baptism, Rome wondering, and the Church rejoicing. The proud saw and were angry, they gnashed with their teeth and pined away. But the Lord God was a hope unto His servant, and he did not look back upon vanities and lying madness.

Finally, when he came to the hour for confessing the faith (which at Rome is usually delivered in set words committed to, and kept in memory, from a lofty place in presence of the faithful people, by those who are about to approach to thy grace), he said that an offer was made to Victorinus by the priests that he might make his profession more secretly, as it was the custom that the offer should be made to some who appeared likely to be disturbed by bashfulness, but that he preferred to confess his salvation in the sight of the holy multitude. For there was no salvation in the rhetoric which he taught, and yet he had professed it publicly. How much less, therefore, when pronouncing thy word, should he fear thy mild flock, who in his own words had not feared the crowds of the foolish!

Therefore, when he ascended that he might make his profession, all, according as each one knew him, whispered to each other with a whisper of congratulation. But who there did not know him? And the *name of* Victorinus sounded with a suppressed sound in the mouths of all rejoicing together. They quickly sounded with exultation because they saw him, and they were quickly silent that they might hear him. He professed the faith with glorious confidence, and all wished to carry him off into their hearts within, and they did so carry him off by loving and rejoicing. Those were the hands of his captors.

Pontitianus relates the Life of Anthony the Egyptian Monk.

(BOOK VIII., CH. VI.)

UPON a certain day, I do not recollect the cause why Nebridius was absent, when, behold there came to me and Alypius, one Pontitianus, a fellow-citizen of ours, so far as he was an African, serving[85] with distinction in the palace. He wanted I know not what from us, and we sat down that we might converse, and by chance, upon a gaming table which was before us, he met with a book, took it, opened it, and found the apostle Paul unexpectedly instead; for he thought it was some one of the books the profession of which occupied me. Then, indeed, smiling and looking upon me, he wondered, in the way of congratulation, that he had found that literature, and that alone, before my eyes. For he was both a faithful Christian, and was often prostrate in the church before the one God, in prayer. To whom, when I had represented that I was bestowing the greatest care upon those Scriptures, a discourse arose (he himself relating it), concerning Anthony the Monk of Egypt, whose name was of exceeding lustre amongst thy servants, but was unknown to us up to that hour. Which, when he found out, he dwelt upon that discourse, introducing so great a man to us, who knew him not, and wondering at this same ignorance of ours.

But we were stupefied hearing thy most approved miracles in the right faith and Catholic Church, within such recent recollection and almost in our own times. We all wondered: *we*, because *the miracles* were so great; and he, because they had not been heard of by us. Thence his discourse turned upon the flocks of the monasteries, and the habits of thy fragrance, and the rich deserts of the wilderness, of which we know nothing. And there was a monastery at Milan full of good brothers outside the city walls, and we knew it not. He continued[86] and spoke on, and we, attentive, were silent. Whence it happened that he said that he, I know not when, and three other comrades, at Treves, indeed, when the Emperor was detained by the afternoon show of the Circensian games, went out into the gardens near the walls to walk, and that as they were walking there, grouped in a chance way, one went apart with him, and the two others also went apart *on their side;* but that the two latter, as they strayed, ran into a certain cottage where dwelt some of thy servants, poor in spirit, of such as whom is the kingdom of Heaven, and that they there found a book in which was written the Life of Anthony.

Which, one of them began to read and to admire, and to be kindled, and while he was reading, to meditate upon the taking up such a life, and having left the secular warfare, living to thee. But he belonged to the class of those who are called "agentes in rebus". Then, suddenly filled with holy love and sober shame, being angry with himself, he cast his eyes upon his friend, and says to him: "Tell me, I pray thee, whither do we ambition to come with all our labours? what do we seek? for what do we serve?[87] Can our hope be greater in the palace than that we become friends of the emperor? And then what is there not fragile and full of dangers? and by how many dangers do we arrive at a greater danger still? And when will this be? But behold, I become the friend of God this moment if I wish".

He said this, and, disturbed by the bringing forth of the new life, restored his eyes to the page, and read and was changed within when thou sawest him, and his mind was stripped of the world, as soon appeared. For while he read, and rolled the waves of his heart, he sometimes roared aloud, and decided and resolved upon the better course, and at length quietly says to his friend: "I have now broken myself off from that hope of ours, and I have determined to serve God, and I attempt this from this very hour in this place. If thou do not like to imitate, do not oppose me". The latter replied, that he adhered to him as his companion in such a service and in such a warfare. And both of them already thine, built a tower at considerable expense, for the purpose of leaving all that was their own and following thee. Then Pontitianus and he who had been walking with him in other parts of the garden looking for them, reached the same place, and finding them, reminded them to return, as the day was already far gone. But they, having stated their resolution and purpose, and in what way such a will had arisen and been strengthened in them, begged that they should not be troublesome to them, if they declined to accompany them. But they, nowise changed from their original pursuits, bewailed their own lot as became them, and piously congratulated their friends, and commended themselves to their prayers, and, trailing their hearts upon the ground, returned to the palace; but the former, fixing their hearts upon Heaven, remained in the cottage. And both had maidens betrothed to them, who, after they had heard those things, themselves also dedicated their virginity to thee, O Lord!

Augustin suffered inward pain hearing Pontitianus.

(BOOK VIII., CHAP. VII.)

PONTITIANUS related these things. But thou, O Lord, while he was speaking, didst hurl me back upon myself, taking me from behind my own back, where I had placed myself, while I was unwilling that I should hearken to thee, and didst establish me before my own face, where I should see how base I was, and how deserted and spotted and ulcerous. And I saw and I felt horror, and there was no place whither I could flee from myself; and if I endeavoured to turn away my gaze from myself, he continued to tell what he was telling, and thou didst again place me opposite to myself, and didst infix myself into my eyes, that I might find my iniquity and might detest it. I knew it, but I dissembled, and connived at, and forgot it. But then, in proportion as I loved more ardently those concerning whom I heard those health-giving affections, because they had given themselves up wholly to thee to be cured, with so much the more execration did I hate myself as compared to them; since many of my years had passed away with me, perhaps twelve years, since in the eleventh year of my age, having read Cicero's Hortensius, I was roused to the study of wisdom, and I put off applying myself, in contempt of earthly happiness, to the investigation of that, the bare inquiry into which, not to speak of its discovery, was to be preferred even to the already found treasures and kingdoms of the nations, and to the pleasures of the body flowing around me at my nod.

But I, miserable youth, very miserable youth, in the beginning of that very youth also had begged chastity of thee, and had said: "Give to me chastity and continence, but not just now". For I feared lest thou mightest quickly hear me, and quickly cure me of the disease of concupiscence, which it was my wish should rather be sated than extinguished. And I went through crooked ways by a sacrilegious superstition, not indeed that I felt certain in that, but as it were preferring it to other ways which I did not seek piously, but assailed as an enemy. And I thought that for this reason I put off from day to day following thee alone in contempt of the hope of the world; because there did not appear to me anything certain by which I should direct my course. And the day came, on which I should be stripped to myself and my conscience should upbraid me, saying: "Where is thy tongue? for thou didst say that on account of thy uncertainty, thou didst not wish to

throw off the burden of vanity; behold, now thou hast a certainty, and that burden still presses thee, and they receive wings with freer shoulders, who are neither so worn with inquiring, nor have been meditating those things for ten years and more".

And I was gnawed within, and confounded vehemently with horrible shame, while Pontitianus was speaking such matters. But his discourse being finished, as well as the occasion on account of which he had come, he went away. And I, what things did I not say to myself against myself! With what scourges of expressions did I not lash my soul, in order that she might follow me, endeavouring to go after thee! and she struggled against me, refused, and did not excuse herself. All arguments had been exhausted and refuted. There had remained a dumb trepidation, and she dreaded like death to be restrained from the flow of custom by which she was wasting unto death.

He withdraws into the garden. What he did there.

THEN in this great quarrel of the interior of my house, disturbed in countenance as well as in mind, I rush to Alypius, and exclaim, "What do we suffer? What is this that thou hast heard: the unlearned arise and take Heaven by violence, and we with our heartless learning, behold where we grovel in flesh and blood. Is it because they have gone before us that we are ashamed to follow, or rather is it not shameful not even to follow?" I said I know not what things of this kind, and the tide of my feelings tore me away from him, while he looking in astonishment at me was silent. For my voice did not utter its accustomed sounds; my forehead, my cheeks, my eyes, my complexion, and the tone of my voice, spake my mind more than the words I uttered.

There was a little garden of our residence which we made use of as well as of the entire house; for our host the master of the house did not live there. Thither the tumult of my breast had carried me off, that no one should interrupt the ardent struggle which I had entered upon with myself, until it should find an issue where thou didst know, but where I knew not. But my fury was unto health, and I was dying unto life, aware how evil *a being* I was, but not knowing how far I should become good after a little. I therefore departed into the garden, and Alypius followed me step for step. We sat down, as far away from the houses as we could. I was raging in spirit, indignant with a most turbulent indignation, that I could not go into thy work

and into treaty with thee, my God, into which all my bones cried out that I ought to go, and they raised me to Heaven with their praises of thee, and it was not possible to go there in ships, or in chariots, or on foot,[88] so far at least as I had gone from the house into that place where we were sitting.

For, in order not merely to set out, but to reach our destination in Heaven,[89] nothing else was necessary than to wish to go, but to wish strongly and unreservedly, and not to turn on this side and on that, and toss about a half-wounded purpose, rising in one part and struggling with another falling part. Finally, I made as many movements with my body, in the very paroxysms of my delay, as men sometimes wish to do, and are unable, if either they have not the requisite members themselves, or if the members are bound in chains, or relaxed by lassitude, or in any way disabled. If I tore my hair, if I struck my forehead, if I seized my knee with my clasped fingers, I did so because I wished it. But I might have wished to do it and not have done it, did not the suppleness of my members obey my will.

The struggle of the spirit and the flesh in Augustin.

(BOOK VIII., C. XI.)

THUS was I sick, and thus was I tortured, accusing myself far more bitterly than was my habit, and twisting myself in my chain until the entire was broken by which I was held, little as it was, but by which I *was* held nevertheless. And thou, O Lord, didst pass on in my hidden struggles, redoubling the strokes of fear and shame lest I should yield again, and that same little and slender bond which remained should not be broken, and should grow strong again, and bind me more firmly. For I said to myself within: "Behold, let it be done just now; let it be done just now; let it be done just now": and with the word I kept going into thy will: I was already almost in the act of doing it, but I was not doing it: neither did I fall back into my old courses, but I stood upon the verge and took breath. And I also struggled, and wanted but a little of being there, and I wanted just a little of touching upon it, and laying hold upon it, but I was not there, nor did I touch it nor lay hold upon it, hesitating as I was to die unto death and to live unto life; and the evil course which was inveterate was more powerful with me than the better course to which I was unused. And the very moment of time in which

I was to become a different being, in proportion as it approached, struck by so much a greater a horror into me; but it did not throw me back nor turn me away, but only kept me in suspense.

The merest of trifles, and vanities of vanities, my former friends kept me back, and shook my fleshly garment, and whispered to me: Dost thou discard us? and from this moment shall we no more be with thee for ever? And what things did they not suggest with regard to my having said this and that! What did they not suggest, O my God! May thy mercy turn away from thy servant the impurities and the shameful things which they suggested. And now less (*loud*) by far than half, not freely contradicting me by going to meet me, but as it were muttering at my back, and plucking me as it were stealthily as I was going away, in order that I might look back at them. Nevertheless they delayed me, hesitating to tear and shake myself away from them, and to spring whither I was called, while the violent fever of habit kept saying to me, "Canst thou live without those?"

But it was saying this quite in a lukewarm way. For upon that side whither I had directed my face, and whither I feared to go, there was disclosed to me the chaste-dignity of continence, serene and joyful without dissoluteness, virtuously caressing me to come to her, and not to doubt, and extending to receive and embrace me her pious hands, full of crowds of good examples; there so many boys and maidens; there a numerous youth, and every age, solemn widows, and ancient virgins; and in all the same continence never sterile, but the fruitful mother of joys, children by thee, O Lord, their husband. And she derided me with an encouraging derision, saying: "Canst not thou do what these men and these women have done? Or are these men and these women able to do so in themselves and not in the Lord their God? The Lord their God has given me to them. Why dost thou stand in thyself, and dost not in reality stand at all? Cast thyself upon Him, be not afraid—He will not withdraw so as that thou fall. Cast thyself upon Him confidently, He will receive thee and heal thee". And I was grievously ashamed, because I still heard the murmur of those trifles, and I hung hesitating. And again she appealed to me, as though she should say: "Be deaf against those unclean members of thine upon the Earth, that they may be mortified. They relate delights to thee, but not as does the law of the Lord thy God". This conflict in my heart was only concerning myself against myself. But Alypius, close by my side, silently awaited the issue of my unusual commotion.

In what way, being admonished by the voice and touched by the words of the apostle, he was converted.

(BOOK VIII., CH. XII.)

BUT when my deep meditation had drawn and piled together all my misery from its secret depth before the sight of my heart, there arose a great storm, bringing with it a great shower of tears. And, in order that I might pour out the entire with its accompanying sounds, I arose from Alypius. For solitude occurred to me as more fitted for the business of weeping. And I withdrew farther off than that even his presence could be burdensome to me. Thus was I then, and he perceived I know not what. For I think I said something in which the sound of my voice, now big[90] with weeping, was heard, and so I arose. He therefore remained where we were sitting in extreme astonishment. I stretched myself upon the earth under a certain fig tree, I know not how, and I gave the reins to my tears, and the rivers of my eyes burst forth, thy acceptable sacrifice. And I said many things to thee, not in these words, but with this meaning: "*And thou, O Lord, how long—how long, O Lord, wilt thou be angry to the end? Be not mindful of our old iniquities*". For I felt that I was held by them, and I gave forth pitiable exclamations. How long—how long—to-morrow and to morrow? Why not now? why should not the end of my baseness be in this time?

I was saying those things, and was weeping in the most bitter contrition of my heart, and behold I hear a voice from the neighbouring house, as it were of a boy or a girl, I know not which, saying with a chaunt and frequently repeating: TAKE UP—READ. And immediately, with a changed countenance, I began to think whether boys in any kind of play were in the habit of singing anything of the sort; nor did it occur to me that I had at all heard it anywhere. Therefore, the flow of my tears being repressed, I arose, interpreting the circumstance as nothing else than that I was commanded from above that I should open the book and read the first chapter I should find. For I had heard concerning Anthony, that he had been admonished from the reading of the gospel upon which I had come by chance, as though what was read there was said to himself: "*Go, sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and thou shalt have a treasure in Heaven, and follow me*", and that by such an oracle he was at once converted to thee.

Concerning the morality of the Catholic Church.

For now, learn, O ye Manichæans, the morals and singular continence of perfect Christians, to whom the highest *degree of* chastity has appeared as not deserving of praise merely, but to be adopted; and do not dare, if you have any portion of shame in you, to plume yourselves upon continence as upon the most difficult of all things. Nor shall I speak of those things of which you are ignorant, but of those which you hide from us. For who does not know that a multitude of Christian men of the utmost continence is every day more and more diffused throughout the entire world, and especially in Egypt and the East? A thing which can by no means escape you.

The Anchorets.

I shall say nothing of those whom I have mentioned a little higher up, who, perfectly secret from human sight, contented with bread only, which is brought to them at certain intervals of time, and with water, inhabit the most desert lands, enjoying converse with God, to whom they have adhered with pure minds, and most blessed in the contemplation of His beauty, which cannot be perceived but by the understanding of the saints. I shall, I say, speak nothing about these, for they seem to some to have abandoned human affairs more than was desirable, to those who do not understand how useful to us is the spirit in prayer, and the life, as an example, of those whose bodies we are not allowed to see. But to dispute upon this subject I consider tedious and superfluous; for, to whatever man this preëminent pinnacle of sanctity should not of itself appear wonderful, how could it appear so by our discourse? Of this barely, those who vainly boast are to be admonished, namely, that the temperance and the continence of the most saintly Christians of the Catholic faith has gone so far, that it seems to some deserving of restraint, and, as it were, to be recalled within human bounds; to such an extent is it judged, even by those to whom the thing is displeasing, that their spirits have gone beyond *those of* men.

Cœnobites.

But if this exceeds our powers of endurance, who must not admire and extol those who, having despised and abandoned the seductions of this world, drawn together into a most pure and holy life in common, spend their years together, living in prayer, in reading, in reasoning, smitten with no pride, turbulent with no obstinacy, livid with no envy, but moderate, modest, and peaceful. They offer a life of the most perfect concord and meditation upon God, as the most grateful gift to Him from whom they merit the ability to do those things? No one possesses anything of his own, no one is a burden to any one. They work with their hands those things wherewith the body may be fed and the mind not be prevented from *access* to God. But they give over their work to men whom they call deans, because they are each set over ten, so that the care of his own person may not touch any one of them, either in food or in clothing, or in any other matter, if there should be need of it, either for their daily necessities or for impaired health, as sometimes happens. But these deans, ordering all things with great solicitude, and expeditiously doing whatever that manner of life requires on account of the weakness of the body, nevertheless do themselves also give an account to him whom they call father. But those fathers, not only most holy in their life, but most excellent in divine learning and exalted in all things, do with no pride consult the interests of those whom they call children, with great authority upon the side of the former in commanding, and willingness on the part of the latter in obeying. But they assemble at the close of the day, each one from their little dwellings, while they are yet fasting, for the purpose of listening to this father; but there assemble round each father three thousand men at the least, for sometimes they live in much greater numbers under one father. But they listen with incredible eagerness and in perfect silence, giving expression to the feelings of their minds by groaning or weeping, but of a modest character, and free from all clamour.[91] Then the body takes refection, as far as is enough for life and health, each one restraining his appetite, that he may not give it full scope, even upon the frugal and most simple things that are at hand. Thus, not only do they abstain from flesh meats and wine for the sake of being able to subdue their passions, but from other meats also, which provoke the appetite of the belly and of the throat, with so much the more vehemence, as they appear cleaner to some, under which

name the base desire of exquisite meats, which may be averse from flesh meats, used to be ridiculously and basely defended. Whatever even remains beyond what is necessary for the food *of the community* (and a great deal does remain over and above from the work of their hands and from the restriction of their meals) is distributed to the poor with a care, such as it was not procured with by those who distribute it. For by no means are they anxious that those things should abound with them, but they contrive by every means that what is over and above may not remain with them, to such an extent even, that they send laden vessels to those places in which the destitute dwell. There is no need to say more about a perfectly well known fact.

Holy Nuns.

This is also the life of women anxiously and chastely serving God, who, in their little dwellings, separate and removed from the men as far as ever it is proper, are nevertheless united to them in pious charity and in the imitation of their virtues, to whom there is no access of young men, nor even of the gravest and most approved old men, unless for the purpose of leaving at the threshold the necessary things they may require. Did I wish to praise this morality, this life, this order, this institute, I am not able to do so worthily; and I fear I should seem to consider that the thing as simply stated could not by itself be pleasing, were I to think that the buskin of the panegyrist should be added to the simplicity of the narrator. Reprehend those things, O Manichæans, if you can; do not point out our tares to the blind or exhibit them to the weak.[92]

Praise of the Clergy.

Nor does the excellent morality of the Catholic Church lie within such narrow confines, that I should think the lives of those only whom I have mentioned are deserving of praise; for how many bishops, best and holiest of men, have I not known? how many priests—how many deacons and ministers of the divine sacraments of every rank—whose virtue appears to me the more wonderful and more worthy of praise, as it is more difficult to

preserve it in the manifold race of men and in this more turbulent life of the world. For they preside not more over men already cured, than over those that are yet to be cured. The vices of the multitude are to be endured in order that they may be cured, and the pestilence must be suffered before it can be appeased. It is difficult to keep here the best course of life and a peaceful[93] and tranquil spirit, since, in order that I may give a short explanation of the difficulty; the latter are engaged where people are learning to live *virtuously*, the former where people do so live.

Another description of persons living together in the world.

Nor should I therefore treat lightly another praiseworthy description of Christians, of those, namely, who live in cities quite apart from the ordinary life of men. I have seen at Milan a house of the saints, men not few in number, over whom a single priest presided, an excellent and most learned man.

I have also known at Rome several such *communities* in which individuals distinguished for gravity, prudence, and the knowledge of divine things, presided over those dwelling along with them, who live in Christian charity, sanctity, and liberty; nor are they indeed burdensome to any one, but after the manner of the East, and under the authority of the *example of the* apostle Paul, they support themselves with their own hands. I learned that many at one time practised incredible fasts, not giving refection to the body even at night, which is most usual everywhere, but that they frequently passed three consecutive days or more without food or drink. Nor was this seen in men only, but also in women, over whom also widows and virgins, numerous as they are, living together and seeking support by spinning and weaving, individual women preside most grave and approved, and skilled not merely in teaching and regulating morality, but in instructing the minds of their companions. Oppose these, O Manichæans, if you can; look upon those men and women; name them, if you can, with insult and at the same time without falsehood; compare your fasts with their fasts, your chastity with their chastity, your meals with their meals, your modesty with their modesty, your charity, in fine, with their charity, and, what the circumstances particularly require, your precepts with their precepts. You will soon learn what is the difference between ostentation and sincerity, between the right way and error; in fine,

what is the difference between the Sirens (*Rocks*) of superstition and the port of religion.

SAINT PAULINUS OF NOLA.

THE charity of Christ, which urges us and binds us together, though absent through the unity of faith, the same has given me courage to write to thee, having driven away my bashfulness, and has introduced thee to the bowels *of my affection* by thy letters, which, flowing as they are with scholastic riches, and sweet with Heavenly honey,[94] I hold meanwhile as the physicians[95] and nurses of my soul, in five books, which we have received through the gift of our blessed and venerable bishop, Alypius, not for our own instruction merely, but also for the profit of many cities of the Church. Those books therefore I have now for my reading; in them I take delight, from them I take food, not the food which perishes, but that which works the substance of life everlasting, through one faith by which we are incorporated in Christ our Lord. When our faith, which, neglectful of visible things, strains after the invisible, through charity, which believes all things according to the truth of the omnipotent God, is strengthened by the letters and examples of the faithful. O truly, salt of the earth wherewith our hearts are seasoned that they may not come to nought by the error of the world! O light worthy of being placed upon the candlestick of the Church! which gives food to the Catholic cities far and wide from its septiform light from the oil of gladness, thou dost disperse the mists of the heretics, dense though they be, and dost bring out clear the light of truth from the confusion of darkness by the splendour of thy perspicuous speech. Thou seest, O unanimous brother! admirable and worthy to be received in Christ the Lord, how familiarly I accost thee, with what astonishment I admire thee, and with how great love I embrace thee,—I who daily enjoy the converse of thy letters, and live upon the breath of thy mouth; for I might truly say that thy mouth is a pipe of living water and a vein of the Heavenly fountain; because Christ has been made the fountain of living water, springing into life everlasting. Through desire of whom my soul has thirsted unto thee, and my earth has desired to be inebriated with the abundance of thy river. And therefore when with this pentateuch of thine thou shalt have armed me sufficiently against the Manichæans, if thou have

procured any defences against other enemies also of the Catholic faith, because our enemy, who has a thousand arts of injury, is to be beaten down by weapons equally various with the deceits by which he attacks, I pray thee to draw them forth for me from thy armoury, and not to refuse giving me the arms of thy justice. For I am even now a sinner labouring under great honour, a veteran in the number of sinners; but to the Eternal King a new tyro of warfare in the flesh. Hitherto, miserable man that I am, I have admired the wisdom of the world, and its reprobate prudence *as made known* by its useless literature. But to God I have been foolish and dumb. After I have grown old amongst His enemies, and have faded away in my thoughts, I have raised my eyes to the mountains, to the precepts of the law, and receiving the gift of grace from whence help came unto me from the Lord; who not rewarding me according to my iniquities, illuminated me, blind as I was; released me, bound as I was; and humbled me who was sinfully erect, in order that He might raise me when piously humble. I follow therefore with steps not as yet equal the great footsteps of the just, if I can learn by your discourse in what I have been taken up by the mercies of God. Direct therefore the little one creeping upon the earth, and teach him to walk in thy footsteps. For I do not wish that thou shouldst consider in me the age of my corporeal birth, rather than that of my spiritual rising; for my age according to the flesh is the same as was his who was cured by the apostles through the power of the Word at the beautiful gate, but in the birth of the soul, my age is that of the infancy *of the innocents*, which, immolated by the wounds aimed at Christ, preceded the sacrifice of the Lamb with a worthy blood, and inaugurated the passion of the Lord. And therefore do thou rear me up, as yet an infant to the word of God, and a suckling in the spiritual age, straining after thy words, which are the breasts of faith, wisdom, and charity. If thou consider our common office, thou art my brother, but if the maturity of thy genius and of thy perceptions, my father, although perhaps thou art my junior in years, because holy prudence has advanced thee, though a youth, to the maturity of merit and the honour of the old. Therefore, cherish and strengthen in the sacred literature me, who am, as I said, late in time, and for this reason do thou, who hast long stood upon land, receive me after my long *course of* dangers, after my many shipwrecks, rude in experience, and only just emerging from the billows of the world, in thy safe bosom,[96] that if thou deem me worthy, we may sail together in the harbour of salvation. In the meantime, with thy prayers,

as with a plank, support me, endeavouring to escape from the dangers of this life and from the depth of sin, that I may escape naked from this world as from a shipwreck. For to that end I have taken care to relieve myself of my burthens and put off my incumbering garments, in order that, disincumbered of every garb of the flesh and care of the morrow, I may swim through this watery brine of the present life, which, with sins basking in our way, lies between us and God. Nor should I glory that I had accomplished that, for, even if I should glory, I should glory in God, whose part it is to perform what it belongs to us to wish. But let my soul covet to desire the judgments of the Lord. See when he may attain the effect of the wishes of God, who still desires to desire him. As far, however, as is in me, I have loved the beauty of thy holy house, and as far as was in me, I had chosen to be lowly in the house of the Lord. But it was pleasing to Him who was pleased to set me apart from the womb of my mother, and to draw me to His grace from the friendship of flesh and blood; it was pleasing to the same to raise me destitute of every good merit from the earth, and to draw me[97] from the lake of miseries and from the mire of dregs, that He might place me with the princes of His people, and that He might place my portion in thy lot, and that, associated with thee in office, I might be equalled with one excelling in merits. Not by my presumption, therefore, but by the will and ordinance of the Lord, taking upon me the bond[98] of thy brotherhood; unworthy as I am, I esteem myself entitled to that honour, because I know for certain that by reason of thy sanctity (for thou knowest the truth) thou feelest not pride, but dost suit thyself to the humble. And, therefore, I hope that thou wilt at once receive unto thy heart the love of our humility, which indeed I trust that thou hast already received through that most blessed priest Alypius, our father, because he condescends *to convey it to thee.* For he, without doubt, in his own person[99] showed himself to thee as an example of one who loved us before knowledge *of us* and beyond our deserving, inasmuch as by loving he was able to see, and sometimes to reach us who were unknown to him and separated from him by a long interval of sun and sea, through the spirit of true love which penetrates and is infused everywhere. He gave to us the first evidences of his feelings and pledges of thy charity in the abovementioned gift of the books. And in proportion to the pains with which he studied[100] that we might love in no small degree thy sanctity, made known to us, not by his words only, but more fully by thy eloquence and faith; in the like proportion

do we believe him to have laboured that thou shouldst greatly love us in thy turn, in imitation of him. We may wish, that as the grace of God, as it is now with thee, may always remain with thee, O brother of one mind with us, venerable and most earnestly longed for in Christ the Lord. We salute thy entire household, and every companion and imitator of thy sanctity in the Lord, with the utmost affection of unanimous brotherhood. We entreat thee to bless by accepting it, one loaf which we send to thy charity as a mark of our unanimity.

ANSWER OF ST. AUGUSTIN.

AUGUSTIN to the truly holy and venerable lord and brother,[101] Paulinus, deserving of mention with the utmost praise in Christ. Health.

O good man and brother, how much do I not grieve that I do not as yet know thy face, that is the dwelling of thy soul, which I know as I do my own. For I have read thy letter flowing with milk and honey, exhibiting the simplicity of thy heart, in which thou seekest the Lord, thinking concerning Him in goodness, and bearing to Him glory and honour. As many as have read the letter carry off *its contents*, because they are carried off while they read. How sweet is the odour of Christ, and how it exhales from the letter, cannot be expressed. When that letter presents thee to be seen, how much does it not excite us that thou be sought; for it makes thee both plain to view and an object of longing; for, in proportion as it in some sense exhibits thee present, in the like proportion it does not allow us to bear thy absence. All love thee in thy letter, and desire to be loved by thee. In it Christ is appealed[102] to by those who read it, that He may be pleased to appease the winds and the seas for thee advancing to His security. There the cedars of Libanus, laid upon the earth, and built into an ark by the jointing of charity, incorruptibly cut the waves of the world. There glory is contemned that it may be gained, and the world is abandoned that it may be obtained. There, the little ones, or even the somewhat grown children of Babylon, namely, the vices of worldly confusion and pride, are dashed against the rock. These and other most sweet and sacred spectacles of this kind thy letter exhibits to those who read it. How does it not pantingly breathe for us thy thirst, and the desire and fainting away of thy soul

for the courts of the Lord! What most saintly love does it not breathe! With what a richness of a sincere heart does it not boil over! Is it to be regarded as more kindly or more glowing? For how does it happen that it at once so softens and so kindles us—that it so rains and is so serene? How comes it, I pray thee, or what shall I repay thee for that letter, unless that I am altogether in Him, in whom thou art altogether?

Behold, he who carries this letter to thy most excellent charity is my dearest *companion*, and most intimately friendly with me from my earliest youth. His name [Licentius] is in the Book concerning the true religion, which thy holiness, as thou dost state in thy letter, has most willingly read.

Nor, however, do I wish that thou believe from this intimate friend the things which perchance he may say in praise of me. For I have experienced that he is deceived when judging *of me*, not from the intention of saying what is false, but from the inclination of his love, and that he thinks I have already received from the Lord some *privileges*, for the receiving of which from the Lord I should gape with the open mouth of my heart. But then when thou readest, my holy Paulinus, let not the matters which truth speaks through our weakness so carry thee away, that thou observe with less diligence the things which I myself speak, lest whilst thou takest in with avidity the good and right things which are given to me *their* dispenser, thou mayest not pray for the sins and errors which I myself commit. For if thou perceive in those writings[103] matters which shall justly displease thee, *in those* I myself am seen; but in those matters, which, by the gift of the spirit which thou hast received, justly please thee in my books, it is HE who is to be loved by thee. *He* who is to be praised, with whom is the fountain of life, in whose light we shall see the light, without enigma, face to face. In those things therefore which I myself have uttered[104] from the old leaven, when reading the same, I recognize them, I judge myself with grief, but in those which I have read from the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth, by the gift of God, I exult with trembling. For what have we that we have not received? That I may always confess these things in earnest, and that my heart may not be discordant from my tongue, pray for me, O brother; pray, I beseech thee, that not wishing to be praised, but praising, I may invoke the Lord and may be saved from my enemies. Because thou art to read many writings of ours, thy love will be much more pleasing to me, if, being just in thy mercy, thou shalt have corrected me in those things which shall have displeased thee, and

shall have accused[105] me. For thou art not the manner of man with whose oil I should fear to have my head anointed.[106]

Not only the brethren who dwell with us, but almost all those who willingly know us in the Lord, salute *thee*, venerate thee, and long for thy brotherhood, blessedness, and kindness.

I do not venture to ask, but if there be leisure to thee from thy ecclesiastical duties, come and see what Africa thinks upon the subject along with me.

ST. PAULINUS TO LICENTIUS.

O LICENTIUS, brother, deservedly most honoured, may we long[107] have thee in Christ the Lord, healthy and happy with thy whole house as we desire thee to be. Attend, therefore, to the law of thy father, that is, the faith of Augustin, and do not repel the counsels of thy mother; which name also the piety of Augustin rightly challenges for itself in thy regard, *the piety of Augustin*, who carried thee when a little one in his bosom,[108] and now also desires to suckle and to feed from this spiritual breast thee just issuing from infancy imbued with the first milk of worldly wisdom. Since he beholds thee, *although* grown up in bodily age, still wailing in the spiritual cradle, an infant to the word of God, scarce creeping with thy first steps and stumbling tread in Christ, if indeed the doctrine of Augustin, as it were the hand of a mother and arm of a nurse, may guide thee an unsteady little child. Whom if thou hear and follow, I shall attract thee again in the speech of Solomon: Son, thou shalt receive the crown of graces upon thy head. I fear, my son, lest I might offend thy ears by the roughness of my speech, and through thy ears inflict upon the soul the wound of my wearisomeness. But thy letter occurred to my mind, in which I learned that thou art familiar with musical measures. From which pursuit I, at thy age, was not averse. Therefore, recollecting thy letter, I have found a remedy for mollifying thy mind towards me, if in any respect I should have made it sore; so that by the modulation of verse I might recall thee to the Lord, the artificer of every kind of harmony. I beg of thee that thou mayest hear with thy ear, and mayest not despise in my words, the cause of thy own salvation, but mayest willingly receive pious care and paternal instruction, even in words despicable in themselves, on which, the name of Christ being grafted,[109] which is above all names, causes this vene-

ration to be due to it, that it cannot be set at nought by a believer.

Wherefore come on—burst through delays and the fast-holding chains of the world—nor fear thou the mild yoke of thy gentle Lord. The presence of earthly things is fair, but wonderful to wandering minds; but the wise Spirit is not astonished at those things. Now Rome, powerful, alas! to turn aside even the strong by the persuasion of evil, solicits thee with various shapes of temptation. But, O my son, I pray for thee; may thy father, Augustin, always come in opposition to all the seductions of the city. Beholding him and having him in thy breast, thou shalt be safe amidst the so great dangers of this frail life. Nevertheless, repeating also this, I shall admonish thee again and again that thou fly the slippery paths of hard warfare. Honour is a pleasing name, but its servitude is bad and its end sickly. The man who is now delighted to wish for it, is afterwards sorry for having wished it.[110] It is pleasant to ascend great heights; it is fearful[111] to descend from lofty places. If thou stumble, thou shalt fall more severely from the top of the tower. Now false advantages please thee; now ambition hurries thee off with all her breezes, and hollow fame bears thee upon her glassy bosom. But when the injurious belt shall have begirt thee with the great tide *of war*, and the sterile labour shall have broken thee down, too late and in vain wilt thou accuse thy empty hopes, and thou wilt desire to break the chains which thou now tiest. Then thou wilt in vain be mindful of thy father Augustin, grieving that thou hast despised his truthful admonitions. Therefore, boy,[112] if thou be wise and pious, listen to and receive the words of fathers and the counsel of old men. Why didst thou withdraw thy untamed neck from the yoke? My burthen is light. The yoke of Christ is sweet: it is a kind saying.[113] Believe God when He speaks,[114] and submit your head to the yoke. Yield your mouth to the soft head-stall, and subject your lowered shoulders to the light load. Now thou canst do this while thou art free—while no chains retard thee—no care of the marriage bed, nor lofty honour. This is the good liberty, to be the servant of Christ, and in Him to be above all things. He who has given himself to Christ the Lord only, does not serve the lords of men, nor the vices, nor proud kings; nor let the nobility appear free to thee, which thou now seest borne sublime in the astonished city,—which, as thou seest, appears to itself *to enjoy* so much liberty that it disdains to bend its neck to God. This man, miserable that he is, serves many mortals, and even serves slaves themselves, and buys handmaidens, that they may rule over him

Those who have suffered *the slavery of* the great palaces, and whatever wretched man of his own accord suffers Rome, understand the eunuchs. At the cost of how much sweat, and by what a loss of decency, is not the military cloak purchased here, and the honour of office there! When he shall have sufficiently boasted himself as lord over the entire city, he obeys demons and worships idols. O grief! on account of those thou dost linger in the city, O Licentius! and dost spurn the kingdom of Christ, in order that thou mayest please those. Thou art in the habit of calling those masters, and salutest with bent neck those whom thou beholdest the servants of wood and stone. Under the divine name they venerate silver and gold: that is their religion which the disease of avarice loves. It is my imprecation, that he who does not love Augustin may love those, and that he may not worship Christ whom it pleases to worship those.[114*] Hence God Himself says, that a man cannot serve two masters, since an undivided mind is pleasing to God. There is one faith, one God, and a single Christ from the Father. There cannot be a double servitude to one master. For as great as is the distance between Heaven and Earth, so great is the distance between the affairs and commands of Christ and of Cæsar. Arise from the ground, and now, while the breath *of life* directs those *mortal* limbs, penetrate Heaven with thy mind; let not the obstacle of the flesh be any hindrance. Thou art a spirit, although thou be detained in the body; if now victorious, thou by thy precious mind dost destroy the work of the flesh. Compelled by the love of faith, I have written these things to thee, dear boy; if thou receivest them, thou shalt he received by God. Believe that Augustin is for thee a second self in me. Take to thyself two fathers with but one love. Are we spurned? *In that case* thou shalt be withdrawn with greater pain to both. Are we listened to? *In that case* thou shalt be a sweet pledge to both. The joyful care of two fathers has laboured in thee, and it will be a great honour to thee to have rejoiced them both. But what do I pour out, sprinkling thee from my poor stream? thou art watered by a double river in addition to me. Alypius is thy brother, and Augustin thy master. The one is the partner of thy blood, the other the parent of thy genius. Thou art strong, O Licentius! in such a brother and in such a master, and yet thou dost hesitate to seek the stars upon wings like those. Whatever thou dost (for neither does the world expect thee as its friend), thou shalt not be given to the Earth, O thou soul due to Christ. Although thou dost now meditate marriage and lofty honours, later thou

shalt be restored to thy God. Therefore return whither thy parent by his voice, whither thy brother by his blood, both priests, exhort thee to travel back. They draw thee back to thy own possessions, for at present thou wouldst seek those of others. Let those things rather be thine which the kingdom of thyself contains. Return to these, be eager for these; do not waste thy time upon external things. If thou wilt not have thy own, who will give thee what belongs to others? Thou wilt not thyself be thy own, and sent far away, alas! by thy senses through foreign lands, thou wilt wander an exile from thy own bosom. Let it be enough for the anxious parent to have sung those things for his son, while I wish or fear for thee, the same things that I wish or fear for myself. This page, if thou receive it, will at one time bear life to thee; if thou reject it, the page will be a witness against thee. May Christ, O my dearest son, grant thee safe to me, and give thee to Himself as His servant for ever. Live, I pray, but live unto God; for it is the work of death to live to the world: the true life is to live to God.

LICENTIUS TO HIS TEACHER AUGUSTIN.

My mind is dull for examining the course of the profound Varro, and terrified, avoids the opposite light. Nor is it wonderful; for all my desire of reading lies prostrate and fears to rise alone, thou not giving thy hand. He explains the causes and the bright wanderings of the stars, whose obscure position he shows through the clouds. Then furiously I demand that the forms of those figures should be given without dust, and I meet with other heavy darkness. For the fiction of the old Pelasgi tells us that Proteus who, when he does not wish to disclose the future to his anxious consulters, foams as a boar, flows as water, roars as a lion, hisses as a snake, nevertheless was at length taken after the poor gifts of birds. But to me who am tortured by graver cares, the answers of Varro lie concealed. Why should I summon as a protection, with suppliant song, nymph, and king, and rivers? Or shall I invoke with my voice thee whom the ruler of bright Olympus set over the springs of infants,[115] and commanded the hidden rivers to give out waters from afar with fruitfulness of mind? Bear assistance, O master, and do not thou desert my insufficient strength, and begin with me to upturn the sacred sods, for time, unless mortal affairs deceive me, is gliding away, and draws me

into old age. Oh! were the former dawn of life, with her joyous wheels, to recall the gone-by days, which, as we attempted *to spend* our unrestricted leisure, and *to study* the upright laws of the good, we spent with thee in the centre of Italy and among the lofty mountains, neither the harsh cold, with its hoary frost, nor the fiercer tempest of the south wind and the northern roarings (*of the blasts*), should prevent me from treading upon thy foot-prints with anxious step. And even now I would abandon the seats of the descendants of Romulus, and the empty summits of the palace, and the houses profaned by orgies, and the vain tumults of the city, and, once for all, I should come totally into the *desires* of thy heart, were it not that my mind, intent upon marriage, retains me as I go. Believe, O thou man of experience, in my evils and in my real grief. Because without thee the sails promise no ports, and we wander afar amid the disturbed seas of life, as sailors headlong in the dense mist, whom the fury of the south wind and the blast whistling from the east has stricken, and whom the whirlwind has deprived of their masters: carried off, the miserable men are at once involved in the broken waters: neither the deck, nor the prow, nor the sails are able to bear the storm, and the system of guidance lies stupefied. So does the wind drive me, and the tide of desire rolls me into the deadly sea, nor is the land altogether away, when I recollect thy dear words, O master. Woe is me, whither am I borne? Whence should I wish to unfold my mind to thee? The doves will desire to have their pious dwellings under the Ægean Sea, and the halcyon being changed, she will build her nest in the trees. The rains will supply the Nile, the does will wander above the air, the mountains will sing and the rivers will applaud, before thy gifts, O master, shall go behind my back. For, neither is it on account of brittle wealth and rebellious gold that we unite the accord of our minds; for neither has the falling fortune of the vulgar crowd, which separates lofty places, united us; but divine faith has connected us; and if now an immense journey divide us, and the space of ocean poured between restrain us, love contemns both—*love*, which, despising the delights of the eyes, always enjoys the absent friend, since he hangs from the depth of the heart and pries into the growth of the inner fibre. In the meantime will come whatever writings of health-giving discourse of good men are to be; and those *writings* of the former saints, deserving of being compared to honeycombs, which thou meditating in thy deep breast hast sent forth to the light, the nectarious honey *therein* conceived. They will render thee present to me,

if thou condescend to my wish, and will give the books by which my tardy music reclines upon thee, for I am altogether on fire after them. Consent. Thus shall the truth be open to us by reason, thus shall it flow more copiously than the Po, and the taints of the world will in vain flutter about the fields of our farm.

ANSWER OF SAINT AUGUSTIN.

HITHERTO I have spoken with thee *of* the things which resound with the chains of this life; now learn in a few words the desires of my breast concerning that hope of thine, which is not transitory—in[116] what manner the way to God may be open to thee. O my Licentius, I fear that thou refusing again and again, and dreading the fetters of wisdom, art most strongly and perniciously fettered by mortal things. For, wisdom subsequently releases those whom she shall first have bound and broken in by certain exercising labours, and gives herself to be enjoyed by them when freed; and those whom she has first instructed by temporal ties she afterwards binds to her by eternal embraces. Than which chain nothing can be imagined more delightful or stronger. Those first bonds, I admit, are somewhat hard; but those last, I neither must call hard, because they are exceeding sweet, nor soft, because they are exceeding strong. But the bonds of this world have a real harshness and a false joy; a certain sorrow, an uncertain pleasure; a hard labour, a timorous rest; the substance full of misery, a hope empty of blessedness. Dost thou not introduce thy neck and hands and feet into those, when thou affectest to be subjugated by honours of this kind, and dost not consider thy actions fruitful otherwise? Some words in thy letter moved me, but I considered it out of place to treat of those, while the care of thy acts and of thy whole life tortures me.[117] If thy verse were vicious from unregulated quantities, if it would not stand according to its own laws of metre, if it were to offend the ears of the hearer with unequal measure, thou wouldst certainly be ashamed, nor wouldst thou put off nor desist until thou shouldst regulate, correct, fix, and equalize the verse by learning and practising the metrical art with the utmost zeal and any *amount of* labour. When thou thyself, ill-regulated, art turned aside, when thou dost not stand according to the laws of thy God, and in the life thou leadest dost not correspond with the

honourable wishes of thy friends, and with the very learning *which thou hast acquired*, dost thou think this is a matter to be put behind thy back and neglected? As if, by reason of the sound of thy tongue, thou art more contemptible to thyself in voice, and it is a more trifling thing that thou offendest the ears of God by thy irregular morals, than if the authority of grammar were displeased with thy irregular syllables. Thou writest: "The harsh cold, with its hoary frost, should not prevent me from treading upon thy footprints with anxious step. It is only necessary for thee to desire me". Woe is me if I do not desire, if I do not force and command, if I do not beg and supplicate. But if thy ears are shut against my words, let them be open to thy own mouth, let them be open to thy own verse, listen favourably to thyself, hardest, cruellest, deafest of men. Whence shouldst thou have got this golden tongue and iron heart, for which I cannot sufficiently deplore those verses in which I see what a soul—what a genius I am not enabled to lay hold upon and immolate to God. Dost thou wait that I may tell thee: be good, be at rest, be happy?—as if any day could dawn more gratefully upon me than that on which I may enjoy thy intellect in the Lord; or as if truly thou wert ignorant how much I hunger and thirst after thee; or as if thou do not confess it in this very poem of thine. Call back the spirit in which thou didst write those things; now say to me, "It is only necessary for thee to desire me". Behold, *thou hast* my command. Give thyself to me, if this *command* alone be wanting. Give thyself to my Lord, who has given to thee that genius. Does not He Himself tell thee; listen to the Gospel: "Come to me, all ye who labour"? Go to Campania; there, learn to know Paulinus, that excellent and holy servant of God; learn how great sweets of this world he shook off unhesitatingly from a neck so much the more generous that it was more humble, in order that he might subject it to the yoke of Christ, and now at rest and modest, he exults in Him the director of his way. Go and learn, from what wealth of genius he offers to Him the sacrifice of praise, refunding to Him whatever good he has received from Him, lest he may lose all if he do not store them up in Him, from whom all those things are. Why art thou boiling over?[118] why dost thou fluctuate? Why dost thou lend thine ear to the imaginations of deadly pleasures, and turnest it away from us? They lie, they die, they draw into death. If thou hadst found a golden chalice in the earth, thou wouldst give it to the Church of God. Thou hast received from God a golden genius, and thence thou

dost minister to thy passions, and in it thou pourest out thyself to Satan. Do not so, I beseech thee. Thus thou mayest yet feel with how sad and how pitiable a heart I have written those things, and thou mayest have pity upon me, if thou be of no value to thyself.

SAINT AMBROSE TO FAUSTINUS,

Upon the Death of his Sister.

Ambrose to Faustinus, health. I was not ignorant that thou wouldst bewail with grief the death of thy sister; nevertheless, not so that thou wouldst banish thyself from us, but that thou wouldst restore thyself to us. For although consolation may not be so pleasing to those who are in grief, nevertheless it is sometimes necessary. But thou hast gone off into the recesses of the mountains, thou dwellest amongst the caverns of the wild beasts, having given up all use of human intercourse, and what is more serious, thy own judgment. Has thy sister deserved so much at thy hands that, on account of her, on whose account human nature should be in honour with thee, as having produced so excellent a woman, it should, *for that same reason*, have less prerogative with thee? She certainly, when departing out of this life, comforted herself with this consolation, that she left thee surviving her, a parent to thy nephews, a protector to the poor, a helper to the destitute; thou dost so banish thyself from thy nephews and from us, that we do not feel the fruit of that consolation. These dear pledges call thee, not to grieve, but to give them consolation, that when they see thee, they may not think that their mother has died, but may recognize her in thee, may hold her presence in thee, and may think that her life remains to them in thee. But thou grievest because she, lately so flourishing, has suddenly fallen. Truly, this is common to us, not only with other men, but with cities and territories. For instance, as thou camest from the town of Bononia,[119] thou didst leave behind thee Claterna, Bononia itself, Mutina, and Rhegium; upon the right was Brixillum; opposite to you lay Placentia, still indicating, by her name, her former nobility. Upon the left thou didst pity the uncultivated regions of the Appennine *territory;* and thou didst consider, and review in thy sorrowing sympathy, the *deserted* hamlets of once flourishing populations. Do not, therefore, the corpses of so many half-demolished cities, and the death of

territories laid before thee at a single view, admonish thee that the departure of one woman, holy and admirable though she was, is to be considered more capable of consolation, especially since the towns are prostrated and demolished for ever, whereas, she taken indeed from us for a time, is there in the enjoyment of a better life? Therefore I consider her not to be so much deplored as to be followed by our prayers, nor do I think that her soul should be saddened with tears, but rather commended to the Lord in oblations. For our flesh cannot be perpetual or lasting; it must necessarily fall in order that it may rise again—it must be dissolved[120] in order that it may rest, and that there may be some end of sin. In Christ, the old things which were according to the flesh, have passed away; all things have been made new. What reason, therefore, is there, why we should grieve if, even now, it is said to the soul *of thy sister:* "Thy youth shall be renewed as that of the eagle"? What reason is there why we should groan for the dead, since the reconciliation of the world with God the Father has been made through the Lord Jesus? Farewell, and love us because we love thee.

SAINT AUGUSTIN TO SAINT JEROME.

I BESEECH thee, through the meekness of Christ, that if I have hurt thee, thou let me go untouched, and do not, by hurting me in turn, repay evil for evil. But thou dost hurt me if thou suppress from me my error, which thou mayest have found in my doings or sayings. For if thou hast reprehended in me those things which are not reprehensible, thou hurtest thyself rather than me; to do which, far be it from thy character and holy purpose. Why, therefore, am I to fear thy words, harsh perhaps, but certainly salutary, as though they were the cæstus of Entelles? He was beaten, not taken care of; and therefore he was conquered, not healed. But if I shall tranquilly take thy medicinal correction, I will not grieve; but if weakness, like my own human weakness, cannot but be somewhat saddened, even when I am truthfully reproved, a swelling of the head is more profitably painful while it is under cure than while it is let alone and is not under cure. For this is the fact which he saw sharply, who said, that for the most part enemies, who quarrel with us, are more useful than friends who should fear to reprove us. For the former, in their quarrels, sometimes utter true *reproaches*, which we correct; whereas the latter show

less freedom of justice than they should, while they fear to roughen the sweetness of friendship. Wherefore, although thou be as thou appearest to thyself an ox, broken perhaps by the age of thy body, but not in vigour of mind; behold, I am ready for thee, sweating upon the threshing floor of the Lord, in fruitful labour; if I have said any thing wrong, plant thy foot more firmly. The weight of thy age ought not to be grievous to me, provided the straw of my fault be trodden under. And then, I either read or call to mind, with a sigh of great longing, what thou has placed in the end of thy letter. "Would", thou sayest, "we might deserve thy embraces; and by mutual comparison we might teach, or learn something!" But I say, would that we dwelt at least in neighbouring parts of the Earth, in order that, if our conversations could not mingle, our letters at least might be more frequent. For neither is there in me, nor can there ever be, so much of the knowledge of the divine Scriptures as I see to be in thee. I beseech thee, if it can come to pass, that we can inquire and discuss any thing between us, by which our hearts may be fed without the bitterness of discord, be it so! But if I cannot say to thee what appears to me deserving of correction in thy writings, nor thou in mine, without a suspicion of envy or injury of friendship, let us rest from those things, and spare our own salvation. But I plainly think that I may ask pardon of thee if I have offended in any respect; which thing you ought to disclose to me, that when I shall have heard thee, thou mayest gain thy brother.

SAINT JEROME.

Introduction to his Biography.

THOSE who are about to contend in a naval fight, previously, while in port and on a tranquil sea, turn their rudders, pull at the oars, prepare the grappling irons and hooks, and accustom the soldiery ranged along the decks to stand firmly upon an inclined step and slippery tread, in order that they may not fear in the real battle what they have learned in the sham-battle. Thus, I who have long been silent, wish to be exercised at first in a small work, and, as it were, to wipe the dust from my tongue, in order that I may afterwards come to a more extensive history. For I have arranged (if indeed the Lord shall give me life, and my detractors shall cease from pursuing me, now at least that I fly and

am hemmed in) to write, how and through whom, from the coming of the Saviour up to our age, that is from *the days of* the apostles up to the days of our own time, the Church of Christ has arisen, and when grown up, has increased by persecutions, and been crowned by martyrdom; and how, after she reached the *period of* Christian Princes, she became greater in power and riches, but smaller in virtue.

Under the persecutors, Decius and Valerian, at the time when Cornelius at Rome, and Cyprian in Carthage, suffered martyrdom with their happy blood, the cruel tempest ravaged many churches in Egypt and the Thebais. It was then the prayer of the Christian to be stricken with the sword for the name of Christ. But the crafty enemy, studying tortures slow to kill, desired to slay souls, not bodies; and Cyprian himself, who suffered under him, says: "To be killed was not allowed to those who wished to die". That the cruelty of this enemy may be known, we subjoin two examples, as an aid to memory.[122]

He ordered a martyr persevering in the faith, and victorious amongst the racks and *heated* plates, to be smeared with honey, and to be placed, with his hands tied behind his back, under the hottest sun, in the hope that he might yield to the stings of flies, who had already overcome the kindled frying-pan.

He commanded another, blooming in his youthful years,[123] to be led away into most delightful gardens, and there, amongst lilies and blushing roses, while a river wound its way beside him with a great murmur of its waters, and the wind just skimmed the leaves of the trees with its soft whisper, to be laid upon his back upon a bed made up of feathers, and lest he might throw himself off, to be left there bound with gentle ties of wreaths. Whither, when after all had withdrawn, a courtezan had come, she began to clasp his neck in her delicate embraces. The soldier of Christ knew not what he should do, nor where he should turn himself. Pleasure was overcoming him whom torments had not vanquished. At length, inspired by Heaven, he spat into the face of her who was kissing him, his tongue which he had bitten off; and thus the greatness of his pain overcame the sense of passion.

LIFE OF SAINT PAUL, THE FIRST HERMIT.

About this time (of persecution) Paul, along with his sister already married, was left after the death of both his parents,

rich in inheritance, about fifteen years of age, thoroughly versed, as well in Greek as in Egyptian literature; of a mild temper of mind, loving God exceedingly; and when the storm of persecution was threatening, he withdrew to a more distant and secret country place. But sacrilegious thirst of gold, to what crimes dost thou not force mortal breasts! The husband of his sister began to wish to betray him whom he ought to conceal. Neither the love of his wife, nor their kindred blood, nor God, who sees all things from on high, recalled him from his guilt. Moreover, that cruelty which counterfeits piety, pressed on. Which, when the sagacious youth perceived, flying to the deserts of the mountains, while he should await the end of the persecution, he turned necessity into inclination, and gradually advancing, and again stopping, and doing the same thing from time to time, at length he saw a stony mountain, near whose foot, at no great distance was a great cave which was closed by a stone. Having removed which, according to the natural desire of men to know what is hidden, continuing to explore, he perceived within a spacious porch, which an old palm spread out into branches screened from the open sky above, showing a perfectly clear fountain, whose stream barely bursting forth, the same earth which had generated the water, immediately sucked in, by a small opening. There were, besides, through the excavated mountain a few little dwellings, in which were rusty anvils and hammers, with which coins seemed to have been stamped formerly. The Egyptian historians state this place to have been a manufactory of base money, at the time when Anthony was united with Cleopatra. Wherefore, having conceived an affection for the place, as though it had been offered to him by God, he spent his earlier life there in prayer and in solitude. The palm offered him food and clothing. Lest which thing should appear impossible to any one, I call Jesus and His angels to witness, that in that part of the desert which adjoins the Saracens, near Syria, I have seen monks, of whom one who had been shut up for thirty years, lived upon barley bread and muddy water; another living in an old cistern which the Syrians, in the language of their country, call *Gubba*, was supported upon five dry figs a day. These things will appear incredible to those who do not believe: because all things are possible to believers. But that I may return to the point from which I digressed: when the blessed Paul had lived one hundred and thirteen years a Heavenly life upon Earth, and Anthony, now ninety years of age, was dwelling in strict solitude, as he himself used to assert, this idea fell into his mind, that

no one more perfect than himself had settled in the desert. But it was revealed to him during his repose at night, that there was another farther on much better than he, to visit whom he should set out. Therefore, readily at daybreak, supporting his infirm limbs with a guiding staff, this venerable old man began to desire to go whither he knew not.

Anthony was going through the region which he had undertaken to traverse, looking at only the traces of the wild beasts and the wide waste of the desert. He knew not what he should do, nor whither he should turn his steps. The second day had already passed; one thing remained to him, namely, that he was confident he could not be abandoned by Christ. Awake all night, he spent the hours of the second night in prayer, and, while the light of day is yet doubtful, he sees from afar a she wolf, panting with the fires of thirst, creep to the foot of the mountain. Which, having followed with his eyes, approaching the cave where the beast had gone away, he began to look in, his curiosity, *however*, being of no avail, as the darkness kept out his sight. But, as the Scripture says, "perfect love expels fear". Having entered, as a cautious explorer, with a soft tread and restrained breath, and advancing gradually, and often stopping short, he caught a sound with his ear. At length, having discovered light from afar, athwart the gloom of which he hastens onward a little too eagerly, he caused a noise by his foot striking against a stone; after the noise of which, the blessed Paul shutting up the doorway, which lay open, fastened it with a bolt. Then, indeed, Anthony, falling before the door, prayed for admission up to the sixth hour and later, saying: "Thou knowest who I am, whence and why I have come! I know that I do not deserve the sight of thee; nevertheless, unless I shall have seen thee, I will not withdraw. Thou who receivest beasts: why dost thou repel a man? I have sought and I have found; I knock, that it may be opened to me. Which, if I do not obtain, I shall die before thy door. Thou wilt certainly bury my corpse, at least".

He persisted in saying such things, and remained resolute.

To whom the hero then gave answer in a few words:

"No one asks in such a style that he may threaten; no one works injury or calumny with tears. And yet thou wonderest that I do not receive thee, since thou art come here to die". Thus jesting,[124] Paul opened the entrance; which, being opened, while they are mingling in mutual embraces, they addressed each other in their own names, and thanks are given to God in common.

And after their holy kiss, Paul, sitting down with Anthony, began thus, "Behold him whom thou hast sought with so much labour, the uncared hoar of years, covers up in limbs decaying with old age; behold, thou seest a man soon to become dust; but, since charity endureth all things, tell me, I pray thee, in what condition is the human race; tell me whether new dwellings arise in the old cities, by what government is the world ruled, or do any survive who are carried away by the error of the demons".

During their conversations, they perceive that a bird, a crow, had settled upon a branch of a tree, and then, quickly flying away, deposited an entire loaf before the faces of both the wondering men. After the departure of which, "Oh", says Paul, "the Lord, truly merciful, truly kind, has sent our dinner to us. For sixty years past I have always received the portion of half a loaf, but on the occasion of your coming the Lord has doubled the supply to His soldiers". Therefore, a thanksgiving being celebrated to the Lord, each sat down upon the margin of the crystal fountain. But here a dispute which arose as to who should break the bread, almost drew the day to evening. Paul would force Anthony to do so, after the custom of hospitality; Anthony refuted his reasoning by *pleading* the right of Paul's seniority. At length the plan *agreed upon* was, that each laying hold upon the bread in his own direction, while each makes an effort towards himself, his own portion should remain in the hands of each one. Then lying upon their faces[125] they drank a little water from the spring, and, immolating to God a sacrifice of praise, passed the night in watching. And when at length day was restored to the Earth, the blessed Paul spoke thus to Anthony: "I knew long ago, my brother, that thou didst dwell in those regions; God had long ago promised thee to me as a fellow servant; but because the time of my sleeping has arrived, and because I have always desired to be dissolved and to be with Christ, my course being now finished, there remains to me the crown of justice, thou hast been sent by the Lord to cover this poor body of mine with the ground, yea, to restore earth to earth". Having heard these things, Anthony, weeping and moaning, besought him that he should not desert him, but should receive him as the companion of such a journey.

And the former: "Thou oughtest not", he says, "to seek the things which are thy profit, but those which are for the profit of others; for thee indeed it is good to follow the Lamb, having cast off the burthen of the flesh; but it is good for the rest of

the brethren that for some time they may be instructed by thy example. Wherefore, I beseech thee, go on, unless it be displeasing to thee, and bring hither the cloak which the bishop Athanasius gave to thee, in order to fold my poor body in it". But the blessed Paul asked this, not that he greatly cared whether his corpse should rot in clothes or naked (seeing he was one who, for so long a space of time, was clothed with interwoven palm leaves), but in order that the sorrow of his death might be alleviated for Anthony retiring from him. Anthony, therefore, astonished that Paul had heard concerning Athanasius and his cloak,—seeing Christ, as it were, in Paul, and venerating God in his breast,—did not venture to answer anything more, but, weeping in silence, and having raised his eyes and hands, returned to the monastery, which was afterwards seized by the Saracens. Nor did his steps follow[126] his mind; but although his advanced years had broken down his body, already wasted with fasts, he overcame his age by his spirit. At length, fatigued and breathless, he arrived at his dwelling, having finished the journey. Whom, when two disciples, who had for a long time been in the habit of ministering to him, met, saying: "Where hast thou been tarrying so long, O father?" he answered: "Woe unto me a sinner, who bear the name of a false monk;[127] I have seen Elias, I have seen John in the desert, and truly have I seen Paul in Paradise". And then, with closed mouth, and smiting his breast with his hand, he brought forward the cloak from his cell; and to the disciples, who ask him that he should explain more fully what was the occurrence, he says: "There is a time of being silent, and a time of speaking". Then, going forth, and not taking even a morsel of food, he returned along the same path by which he had come, thirsting after him, longing to see him, embracing him with his eyes and in his whole mind; for he feared (what did happen), lest while he was absent *Paul* should restore to Christ the spirit which he owed to Him. And when now the second day had dawned, and he had travelled back the road for the space of three hours, he saw Paul ascend upon high, glowing with snowy brightness amidst the troops of angels—amid the choirs of prophets and apostles—and, falling upon his face, he flung the sand upon his head, and, weeping and wailing, said: "Paul, why dost thou send me away?—why dost thou depart unsaluted?—known to me so late, why dost thou go so soon?" The blessed Anthony afterwards told that he ran through what remained of the road so quickly, that he flew through it like a bird; nor without reason, for having entered the cave, he saw

the breathless body upon bended knees, with the neck erect and arms outstretched towards on high, and at first, he himself believing him to be alive, prayed also. But when he did not hear, as had been his wont, any of the sighs of him at prayer, rushing to a tearful kiss, he learned that the very corpse supplicated with the suitable[128] gesture the God to whom all things live. Therefore, having wrapped up and brought out the body, and singing also hymns and psalms, according to the Christian tradition, Anthony was saddened because he had not a spade wherewith to dig the earth; and, fluctuating with a varying tide of feeling, and considering many things within himself, he said: If I return to the monastery, it is a three days' journey; if I remain here, I shall do no good; I shall die, therefore, as is fitting, and falling, I shall pour out my last breath beside thy warrior, O Christ! While he was revolving such things in his mind, behold, two lions, running from the interior part of the desert, were borne onwards, with manes floating over their necks: which being seen, he at first felt horror, and then, directing his mind to God, he intrepidly awaited them as though he had seen doves. And they, indeed, having gone in a straight course to the body of the blessed old man, stood still, and lay down at his feet, wagging their tails[129] and roaring with a great noise, so that he (Anthony) could perfectly understand that they were bewailing Paul as best they could. Then, at no great distance, they scratched with their feet, and vieingly removing the sand, dug out a place capable *of holding* one man, and immediately, as if asking pay for their labour, with a movement of their ears and with bent neck, they proceeded to Anthony, licking his hands and feet. But he perceived that they asked a blessing from him. Nor *was there any* delay *on his part, but*, overflowing in praise of the Lord, because even dumb animals perceived that there was a God, he says: O Lord, without whose permission not even a leaf drops from a tree, nor one sparrow falls to the earth, give unto them as Thou knowest *to be right.* And then, motioning them with his hand, he commanded them to go away. And when they had retired, he bent his old shoulders under the weight of the holy body, and having laid it into the grave, collecting the earth over it, he made a mound after the usual way. But after another day had dawned, lest he, the pious heir, should *leave* any part of the goods of the intestate saint of which he had not taken possession, he claimed for himself his tunic, which Paul had woven for himself out of the leaves of the palm, after the manner of baskets. And thus, having returned to the monastery, he unfolded all things in their order to the dis-

ciples, and on the solemn days of Easter and Pentecost, was always clothed with the tunic of Paul. In the end of our little work, we take leave to ask those who know not *the extent of* their patrimony—who clothe their houses with marble—who sow into one texture the price of villas—was anything ever wanting to this naked old man? You drink out of a gem—he satisfied nature from the hollow of his hands; you wear gold in your tunics—he never had even the vilest clothing of your slave; but, on the other hand, Paradise is open to him, miserably poor as he was—Hell will receive you clad in your gold; he, though naked, always preserved the garment of Christ; you, *though* clad in silks, have lost the garment of Christ; Paul, covered with the vilest dust, is destined to arise into glory; you, destined to burn along with your riches, the sepulchre laboriously wrought with stone presses down. Spare yourselves, I beseech you, spare at least the riches which you love. Why do you wrap up your dead in golden garments? Why does not ambition cease amid grief and tears? Is it that the corpses of the rich do not know how to rot unless in silk? I beseech thee, whoever readest those things, that thou mayest think of Jerome the sinner, to whom, if the Lord would give a choice, he would prefer the tunic of Paul with his merits, rather than the purple of kings with their punishments.

FROM THE LIFE OF ST. HILARION.

His admiration for St. Anthony.

Hilarion hearing the then famous name of Anthony, which was carried through all the inhabitants of Egypt, kindled with the desire of visiting him, set out for the desert. Immediately that he saw him, having changed his former habit of life, he remained almost two months with him, contemplating his life and the severity of his morals. How constant in prayer—how humble in receiving the brethren—how severe in reproving—how prompt in exhorting them—and how no infirmity at any time broke down his restraint and the coarseness of his food! Then, no longer enduring the number of those who flocked together to Anthony on account of their various passions or assaults of the demons, and not thinking it suitable that he (*Hilarion*) should undergo in the desert the populations of cities, but that he should rather begin in the same way as Anthony had begun; and *considering further*

that the latter, as a brave man, had received the rewards of virtues, whereas he (*Hilarion*) had not yet begun to serve, he returned to his country, and, his parents being now dead, he distributed part of his substance to his brothers and part to the poor, reserving nothing at all to himself. He was then about fifteen years of age. Thus naked, and armed in Christ, he entered the solitude which bends towards the left on the seventh mile from Majuma,—an emporium of Gaza for those proceeding to Egypt by the shore. And although the places round were bloody from robberies, and his relatives and friends warned him of the imminent dangers, he despised death, in order that by death he might escape death. All wondered at his courage—all wondered at his age—unless it was that a certain fire of his breast and the sparks of faith gleamed in his eyes.

His cheeks were smooth, his body delicate and tender and sensitive to every injury, *of a constitution* that could suffer from a small *degree of* cold or heat. Therefore, having covered his body with a sack merely, and having the outside dress of skin, which the blessed Anthony had given to him when setting out, and a rustic blanket, he inhabited the vast and terrible solitude that lies between the sea and the marsh, eating only fifteen figs after the setting of the sun. What should the Devil do? Whither should he turn himself? He who formerly boasted, saying, "I will ascend into Heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of Heaven, and I will be like the Most High", now found that he was overcome by a boy, and that he was trodden under foot by him before, through his age, the boy was capable of sin. Therefore (*Hilarion*), in the fires of the flesh, angry with himself and beating his breast with his clenched hands, as if by the blow of his hand he could shut out the thoughts that visited him. "Ass", he says (*addressing himself*), "I shall take measures that thou mayest not kick; nor shall I feed thee with barley, but with straw—I shall wear thee out with hunger and thirst; I shall load thee with a heavy burthen; I shall hunt thee through heat and cold, so that thou mayest think of food rather than lasciviousness". Therefore, with the juice of herbs and with a few dried figs, after three days, he supported his fainting soul, frequently praying and singing psalms, and digging the ground with a rake, in order that the labour of work might double the labour of his fasts.

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The cell of St. Anthony.

In those days, through the vast and horrible solitude, Hilarion at length came to a very high mountain, having found there two monks, Isaac and Pelusianus, of whom Isaac had been the interpreter of Anthony. And because the occasion presents itself and we have reached that place, it appears worthy *of our subject* to describe in a short account the dwelling of so great a man.

A rocky and high mountain presses forth its waters at its foot for about a mile, of which waters the sands absorb some, and others flowing to the lower regions make a river, over which on both banks innumerable palm trees give much both of beauty and convenience to the place. Here you might see the old man going up and down with the disciples of the blessed Anthony. Here, they said, he (*Anthony*) was accustomed to sing psalms; here to pray; here to work; here, when tired, to sit down. He himself planted those vines, those shrubs. He settled this little garden bed. He it was who made with much labour this pond for watering the little garden. He had for many years this little rake for digging the earth. He (Hilarion) lay in his pallet, and kissed his couch as it were yet warm. But the cell had not a greater square measurement than what a sleeping man might stretch in. There were seen besides upon the lofty top of the mountain, as if accessible to those *only* who should ascend by winding stairs and by a very difficult effort, two cells of the same dimensions, in which, when he fled, he put off the crowding of those who came to him, and the companionship of his brethren. But these cut out of the living rock had merely entrances added to them. But after they had come to the garden: "You see", says Isaac, "this orchard, planted with shrubs and blooming with vegetables: three years ago, when a herd of wild asses was laying it waste, he ordered one of their leaders to stand, and beating its sides with his staff, 'why', he said, 'do you eat what you have not sown?' and thenceforward, *it appears*, that they never touched a shrub, nor vegetable, nor anything except the waters which they had come to drink". The old man asked also that they should show to him the place of his (*Anthony's*) tomb. Who, when they had led him aside, it is not known whether they showed it to him or not, stating that their reason for concealing it, according to the command of Anthony, was, lest Pergamius, who was the richest man in those districts, having taken to his country

seat the body of the saint, should build a "martyrium", that is, should erect a temple illustrious for miracles in honour of the martyrs.

MALCHUS.

While I sit alone in the desert, and see nothing but the sky and the earth, I begin silently to meditate with myself, and to recollect, amongst many other things, the companionship of the monks, and especially the countenance of the father, who had instructed me, had held me, had lost me. And while thus thinking, I see a troop of ants, glowing *with labour*, in their little hill. Thou mightest see burthens larger than the bodies *of those who were drawing them.* Some ants drew along certain seeds of herbs with the pincers of their mouths, others carried away the clay from their trenches, and shut out the courses of the waters with mounds; those, *again*, mindful of the winter about to come, cut up the seeds which they had brought in, lest the ground when damp should turn their granary into grass; and those, with pompous grief, carried away the bodies of the dead. And, what is more wonderful in so large a company, the *individual* going out was no hindrance to *another* coming in; but, on the contrary, should they perceive any ant to have fallen under its bundle and load, placing their shoulders *under the load*, they helped her. Why should I go into particulars? That day showed me a beautiful spectacle. When calling to mind Solomon, who sends *for instruction* to the thrift of the ants, and rouses our sluggish minds by lash and incitement, I began to tire of my captivity, and to seek the cells of the monastery, and to long after the likeness of those ants, where the labour is for the common good, and where, while nothing is the property of an individual, all things belong to all.

SAINT JEROME.

His rebuke for attachment to profane learning.

What communion between light and darkness? What agreement *can there be* of Christ with Baal? What has Horace to do with

the Psalter, Maro with the Gospels, Cicero with the apostles? Is not thy brother scandalized if he see thee leaning upon idols? and, although to the pure all things are pure, and nothing is to be rejected which is taken with thanksgiving, nevertheless, we ought not to drink at the same time the cup of Christ and the cup of demons. I shall relate to thee the account of my unhappiness.

When many years ago I had separated myself from my home, my parents, my sister, my relations, and what is more difficult than those matters, from my habit of rather generous fare, for sake of the kingdom of Heaven, and set out on my warfare[130] to Jerusalem, I was not able altogether to do without the library which I had gathered together for myself at Rome with the utmost zeal and labour. Therefore, I, wretch that I was, fasted when about to read Tullius. After my frequent night-watchings, after the tears which the recollection of my past sins drew from my very bowels, Plautus was taken into my hand. If, at any time returning to myself, I began to read the prophets, their uncouth speech was horrible to me, and because I did not see the light with my blind eyes, I thought that the fault was not that of my eyes, but that of the sun. Whilst the old serpent was thus deceiving me, almost in mid-lent, a fever infused into my marrow, seized upon my exhausted body; and without any rest (which also is incredible to be told), so fed upon my unfortunate limbs, that I scarce held together with my bones. In the meantime my funeral obsequies are in preparation, and the vital heat of the soul, while my entire body grows cold, throbbed alone in my poor breast just warm, when suddenly carried away in spirit, I am dragged before the tribunal of the judge, where there was so much light and so much brilliancy from the lustre of those standing around, that, flung forward upon the earth, I durst not venture to look upwards. Being questioned concerning my religious condition, I answered that I was a Christian. And he who presided: "Thou liest", he says, "thou art a Ciceronian, not a Christian, for where thy treasure is there also is thy heart". I was at once silent, and amongst the blows *which I received* (for he had ordered me to be beaten), I was more tortured by the fire of conscience, thinking over with myself that verse—"But in Hell who shall confess unto thee?" Nevertheless, I began to cry out, and wailing, to say: "Have mercy on me, O Lord, have mercy on me". This cry resounded amid the scourges. At length those who were standing by, flinging themselves at the knees of the presiding judge, implored of him that he would ex-

tend indulgence to my youth, and give an opportunity of repentance to my error, on the condition that he would exact the torture, if, at any time afterwards, I should read the works of the Gentiles. I who, bound up in so great an extremity, was fain to promise even greater things, began to swear, and calling upon His name, to say:—Lord, if I shall have worldly books, if ever I shall read them—*take it that* I have renounced thee. Dismissed according to the tenor of this oath, I return to the living,[131] and while all wonder, I open my eyes, drenched with such a shower of tears, that I would convince even the incredulous by my pain. Nor was this a trance, or *any of* the vain dreams by which we are deluded. The tribunal before which I lay is my witness; the terrible punishment which I dreaded is my witness; *as I speak truth*, so may I never again fall into such a trial. I confess that I had the livid scores, that I felt the strokes after my sleep, and that thenceforward I read divine literature with such a zeal as I had not before read mortal literature.

SAINT BERNARD.

This description of Clairvaux is not from the pen of the Saint, but from that of some nearly contemporary resident.

If thou desire to know the situation of Clairvaux, let those writings be to thee as a mirror. Two mountains take their rise not far from the abbey, which, at first being separated by the interval of a narrow valley, according as they approach the abbey, open their jaws with a wide yawning, of which mountains, one occupies one half side of the abbey, the other fills an entire side. The one prolific of rivers, the other fruitful of corn, affords a service beautiful to view and convenient for use, while along their sloping sides, upon the one grows what may be eaten, and upon the other what may be drunk. Upon the tops of the mountains it is a constant labour of the monks, pleasant indeed and more pleasing than repose, to collect the old branches and bind up faggots for burning; to extirpate the unsightly branches, and to fit for the fire those which are fit for the fire only; to cleanse away briars; to root out, to destroy, to ruin, that I may speak according to Solomon, those spurious, useless branches which either bind the branches or undermine the roots, in order

that the straight oak may not be hindered from saluting the skies with her sublime top, or the soft linden from unfolding her arms, or the wedgeable and flexible ash from freely extending itself upwards, or the spreading beech from expanding in breadth.

Then the back part of the abbey terminates in a broad plain, no small portion of which a wall occupies, which surrounds the abbey with its extended circuit. Within the enclosure of this wall many and various trees, prolific in various fruits, constitute an orchard resembling a wood. Which, being near the cell of the sick, lightens the infirmities of the brethren with no moderate solace, while it affords a spacious walking place to those who walk, and a sweet place for reclining to those who are overheated. The sick man sits upon the green sod, and while the inclemency of Sirius[132] burns up the Earth with his pitiless star, and dries up the rivers, he (*the sick man*) tempers the glowing stars, under leaves of the trees, into security, and concealment, and shade from the heat of the day; and for the comfort of his pain, the various kinds of grass are fragrant to his nostrils, the pleasant verdure of the herbs and trees gratifies his eyes, and their immense delights *are present*, hanging and growing before him, so that he may say, not without reason: I sat under the shade of that tree, which I had longed for, and its fruit was sweet to my throat. The concert of the coloured birds soothes his ears with their soft melody; and for the cure of one illness, the Divine tenderness provides many consolations, while the air smiles with bright serenity, the earth breathes with fruitfulness, and he himself drinks in with eyes, ears, and nostrils, the delights of colours, songs, and odours.

Where the orchard terminates, the garden begins, distributed into separate plots, or rather, divided by intersecting rivulets; for although the water appears stagnant, it flows nevertheless with a slow gliding. Here also a beautiful spectacle is exhibited to the infirm brethren: while they sit upon the green margin of the huge basin, they see the little fishes playing under the water, and representing a military encounter, by swimming to meet each other. This water serves the double duty of supporting the fish and watering the vegetables,—to which water, Alba, a river of famous name, supplies nourishment by its unwearied wandering. This river, making its passage through the many departments of the abbey, everywhere leaves behind him a blessing for his faithful service, seeing that after he has ascended thither with much labour, he does not pass through undiminished, nor yet idly. He indeed, dividing the valley in the midst by his winding-bed, which,

not nature, but the industry of the brethren, has made, sends half of himself into the abbey as if to salute the brethren and to excuse himself for not coming altogether, inasmuch as he has not found a channel capable of containing his entire self. And if by chance, the river himself overflowing, burst forth with impetuous issue, being pushed back by the opposition of a wall under which it is necessary for him to flow, he returns upon himself; but, being admitted as far as the wall has allowed, he makes his first attack upon a mill where he is very busy.

Good God! how many comforts dost thou not procure for thy poor, lest they be swallowed up in excess of sorrow! How many alleviations of their punishment dost thou not dispense to the penitent, lest, perchance, they be sometimes oppressed by the violence of their labour! For, of how many horses would not that labour break down the backs, and of how many men would it not weary the arms, from which this kind river releases us without labour, even when without him neither clothing nor food is prepared for us. But he himself asks no other payment for his labour wherewith he labours under the sun, than that, when he shall have done all things diligently, he may be allowed to go away free. Therefore, leading round so many rolling wheels with swift rotation,[133] he issues forth so foamy *as* if he himself by the grinding also appeared to become softer.

He is then received by the tanning house, where he exhibits a laborious sedulousness in preparing those things which are necessary for the shoes of the brethren. Then distributing himself in small parts and, as it were, through many members, he examines each department in his active course, everywhere seeking out anything that may have need of his aid, lending without contradiction his services for cooking, sifting, turning, rubbing, watering, washing, grinding, and softening. Finally, lest anything should be wanting to him for *the performance of* any kindness, and lest his works should be imperfect in any direction, carrying away all impurities, he leaves everything clean behind him; and having strenuously performed that for which he had come, he hastens with rapid speed to the river, that, returning thanks to him on behalf of Clairvaux for all his benefits, he may answer to his salutation with a suitable salutation of his own; and immediately, pouring back to him the waters which he had transferred to us, he thus out of the two makes one, so that there appears no vestige of their union, and now mingled with him whom, by his departure, he left thin and slow, he hurries him along, who had been previously lingering.

But because we have restored him to his place, let us return to the rivulets which we have left behind us, which, derived from the river, wander through the fields with quiet excursions that they may inebriate the earth, lest when, in the vernal mildness, the fragrant earth is relaxed into child-birth, the reviving grasses may wither for want of moisture, and that they may not require to be watered with drops begged from the clouds, being sufficiently vigorous by the favour of their kindred river. These rivulets, or rather furrows, after their duty has been discharged, are absorbed in the river which vomited them forth; and now the entire Alba gathered together hastens along the declivities in his downward course. But since we have led him somewhat far, and he himself, according to Solomon, returns to his own place, let us also return whence we have digressed. and let us leap over the outstretched plain of the field with a short description.

This place has much pleasantness—much that relieves the weary mind and relaxes anxious cares—much that enkindles to devotion those who are seeking the Lord, and admonishes us of the Heavenly sweetness after which we sigh, while the face of the Earth, smiling with manifold colour, feeds our eyes with its blooming picture, and breathes into our nostrils its sweet odour. But while I see the flower, and while I take in the odour of the flower, the fields remind me of the histories of the ancient days. For when I draw in the delights of the odour, it occurs to my mind that the fragrance of the garments of the patriarch Jacob was compared to the sweetness of a full field. And while I refresh my eyes with the colour, I recollect that this beauty was preferred to the purple of Solomon, who, in all his glory, could not equal the comeliness of the lilies of the field, although neither art was wanting to his wisdom nor material to his power; and thus, while I am delighted with the service *of the earth*, I am not a little delighted with the concealed mystery. This field, therefore, is cherished by the irrigation of the river and sends down its roots to his moisture; therefore it shall not fear when the heat will come. But it is extended longwise for such a distance, that when it dries the grassy fleece which has been shorn into hay, it is enough to tire the convent for twice ten days. Nor, however, is this labour left to the monks alone; but an innumerable multitude, as well of lay brothers as of hired labourers presented with gifts, collects the driest herbs and sweeps the shorn ground with a wide-toothed rake. In the part of the meadow which is near the wall, there has been made out of the solid field a liquid lake: where formerly the over-heated workman cut the grass with his

sharp scythe, now the brother waterman, in his moveable seat, carried upon his wooden horse through the slippery plain of liquid field, has the light oar for the spur wherewith he may urge his course, and for the rein by which he may guide it. Under the waters is unfolded the net, in which the little fish may be entangled; and those meats are prepared for him on which he feeds most willingly; but there lies hid in them a hook by which he is taken unsuspectingly, by which example we are taught to despise pleasures, because the pleasure bought by pain hurts,—that the issue of which is sad, no one is permitted to be ignorant, unless either he who has not sinned, or who has not well repented of his sin. But may God remove far from us the pleasure near whose entrance death has been placed. The circuit of the lake which is planted through the deep margin of the bank, is tied by the roots of oziers, lest the gaping earth may yield to the water washing against it. This lake is fed by the river flowing by, which, scarcely six times seven feet apart, pours into it by narrow wanderings, the waters by which it is fed, and *the lake* pours them out again with the same sparingness. Whence also it thus always remains in the same condition, so that it is neither greater for the waters which flow into it, nor smaller for those which flow out, because it receives and rejects them in the same measure.

But while I am borne through the level regions in my flying course—while breathless I pant upon the heights, or describe the purple surface of the meadow, painted by the hand of wisdom itself, or the ridges of the mountains capped with trees,—that sweet fountain often drunk by me, and indeed well deserving of me, but badly repaid, accuses me of ingratitude. It reproaches me upbraidingly that it has often served to extinguish my thirst —that it has humbled itself to wash not only my hands but my feet—that it has lavished upon me offices of goodness and kindness—and that I have repaid my well-deserving friend with a bad recompense. And in truth I am unable to deny that I have been mindful too late of it (*the fountain*), since I have been mindful of anything else before it. But it, silently gliding by subterraneous descents, and wandering so that its passage cannot be detected by even a gentle murmur, like the waters of Silöe which pass in silence, everywhere hides its head and avoids the sight of itself. Why should I not think that the fountain wished to be passed over in silence, which I see does not wish to be seen unless under a cover? This fountain, therefore, rises opposite to the sun (which is said to be the mark of a good fountain), so that in the

summer solstice it salutes the rosy face of the sparkling Aurora in front. It is covered and shut in by a hut, or (to speak with greater respect) by a small and handsome tabernacle, that it may not admit impurities from any quarter. Where the mountain vomits it forth, *there* the valley swallows it; and in the place where it arises, in the same place it dies as it were,—yea, and is buried. But lest thou expect the sign of Jonas the Prophet, that it should be hid for three days and three nights, immediately at the distance of a mile within the enclosure of the monastery, it advances as if resuscitated from the earth, and appears in a certian way alive again, offering itself to the sight and use of the brethren alone, lest its lot should henceforward be with others than with the saints.

CHRISTIAN POETRY.

SAINT AMBROSE.

I.

Splendour of the paternal glory, bringing forth light from light. Light of light and fountain of lustre; day, illumining the day; and true sun; glide into us, shining with perpetual brightness, and pour the beam of the Holy Spirit into our senses. Let us also invoke with our prayers the Father, the Father of eternal glory, the Father of powerful grace, that He may banish slippery guilt —that He may confirm our strenuous acts—that He may blunt the tooth of the envious—that He may make adverse circumstances prosperous, and may give the grace of enduring them. May He govern the mind in a chaste and faithful body; may faith glow with warmth; may it be ignorant of the poisons of fraud. Let Christ be our food, and let faith be our drink. Let us, joyful, drink the sober drunkenness of the Spirit. Let this day pass joyfully, so that modesty be our dawn,—faith, as it were, our mid-day,—and let our mind know no twilight. The dawn advances her course: let Christ advance with the dawn,—the entire Son in the Father, and the entire Father in the Lord.

II.

Eternal glory of Heaven! Blessed hope of mortals! Only *Son* of the Heavenly Thunderer, and offspring of the chaste Virgin!

give Thy right hand to those who are rising, that the sober mind may arise glowing, and may repay unto the praise of God the well-due thanks. The darkness of the night falls; the morning star, arisen, shine forth, announce the scattered light; the mist of the nights falls; let holy light illumine us, and remaining, let it drive away the night of the world from our senses, and preserve our breasts purified to the full end of time. Let faith, sought first of all, strike root into our inmost minds; next let hope rejoice along with her, than whom (*hope*) charity is greater.

III.

O God, the Creator of all things, and Ruler of the firmament, clothing the day with comely light and the night with the favour of sleep, in order that repose may restore the relaxed limbs to the use of labour, and may soothe the wearied minds and relieve anxious cares. Singing our hymn, we pay our thanks, the day being now spent, and our prayers with supplications at the beginning of the night, in order that Thou mayest assist us, guilty as we are. Let the depths of the heart sing Thee in concert; let the tuneful voice echo Thee; let chaste affection love Thee; let the sober mind adore Thee; that when the deep darkness of the night shall have closed the day, faith may not know darkness, and the night may shine with faith. Suffer not the mind to sleep. May sin know sleep. Let faith refresh us chaste, and let it moderate the vapours of sleep. Let the depths of the heart, stripped of the slippery sense *of the flesh*, dream of Thee; nor, by the deceit of the envious foe, let terror disturb *thy* quiet *servants*. Let us implore Christ, and the Father, and the one Spirit of Christ and of the Father.[134] O Trinity! powerful over all things, cherish those who pray *to Thee*.

IV.

Let the choir of the new Jerusalem draw forth a new sweetness of honey, celebrating the paschal festival with sober joys. Here Christ, the unconquered lion, rising above the overwhelmed dragon, while he fills *the world* with his living voice, raises from death those who had finished *their time*. The wicked Tartarus gave back the prey which he had devoured; the bands free from captivity follow Jesus. He splendidly triumphs; pre-eminent in grandeur, He makes the country of the earth and that of the sky one republic. Let us, His suppliant soldiers, beseech

our King by singing, that he may appoint us his fellow soldiers in his most glorious citadel. Through ages ignorant of limit, be there glory to the supreme Father, and honour to the Spirit, the Paraclete, along with the Son. Jesus, our redemption, our love and our longing! God, the Creator of all things! man unto the end of time! what clemency overcame Thee, that Thou shouldst carry our sins, suffering cruel death, that Thou mightest redeem us from death? Penetrating the barriers of Hell, redeeming Thy captives, victorious in a noble triumph, Thou sittest at the right hand of the Father. Let Thy very piety compel Thee to overcome our evils by sparing us, and salute with Thy countenance us enjoying our wish. Be Thou our joy, who art to be our reward: be our glory in Thee, ever through all ages.

V.

O CHRIST! the sweet Ruler of all men, begotten from the mouth of the Eternal Father, kindly notice the prayers alike and the hymns of Thy suppliants. Observe that Thy suppliant people resound with pure honour in Thy hall, O God, whose annual festivals return to be celebrated in their season. This house is known as solemnly dedicated to Thee, in which the people takes Thy blessed body, and drinks the blessed draught of Thy blood. Here the sacred waters wash out the inveterate sins, and take away offences, and the race of the worshippers of Christ is created by the true chrism. Here health is brought to the sick, medicine to the weary, light to those deprived *of sight*, and all fear and all grief is driven away. Here the cruel plunder of the demon ceases, the obstinate monster becomes terrified, and leaving the bodies he had held, quickly flies into distant darkness. For in truth this place is called the hall of the Eternal King and the snowy gate of Heaven, which receives all the saints who seek their country; *the gate* which no whirlwind shakes, or wandering winds overturn, or rain-storms penetrate, or pitchy Tartarus, horrible with direful darkness, injures. We pray Thee, therefore, O God, that Thou mayest assent with serene countenance, guiding Thy servants, who, with the utmost love, celebrate the joys of Thy temple. Let no grievances of life torture us; let our days be joyful and our nights tranquil; let no one of us, when the world perishes, feel the fires *of Thy wrath*. May this day, on which Thou beholdest a hall consecrated to Thee, give everlasting joy to us, and flourish for a long space of time. Let glory proclaim the supreme Father, let glory *proclaim* the Son, and let us equally sing the Holy Spirit, through every age.

VI.

The clouds have overspread the firmament of Heaven, and, having put the sun to flight, hide the day. The air flashes direfully with bright fire, and the world trembles on its shaken hinge. The waters of the sea swell with rains, nor do the straits any longer know their own boundaries. The water ebbs and flows in the midst of the land, and the wandering boat cleaves the fields. The mariner looks for his ports—the mariner looks for the shores—the mariner looks for his retreats—the mariner sails a wandering stranger over the crops, over the vines, over the harvests. The weeping husbandmen leave their tillage fields; they behold the sad shipwreck of their labour. The joyous harvest swims—so do the seeds, so does his entire income: children, houses, flocks, and fields migrate. O Jesus! spare those who have been redeemed by Thy death. The former age suffered a deluge, in order that water might purify the crimes of the Earth, but *since then* the Earth has been purified by Thy blood. Let a dove, despatched, bearing a branch in her mouth—a branch, the gift of the peace-bearing olive—gliding forward, signify, by her joyful flight, that the lands are freed from the liquid river.

PRUDENTIUS.

Martyrdom of the Innocents.

The anxious tyrant hears that the Prince of Kings is at hand, who is to govern the nation of Israel and hold the palace of David. Frantic at the intelligence, he exclaims: My successor is upon me—we are driven out. Go, satellite! snatch thy sword—drench the cradles with blood—let every male infant perish—search the bosoms of the nurses, and let the infant dye the sword with blood between his mother's breasts. Therefore, the executioner, raging, transfixes with his naked sword the bodies just born, and searches out the new souls. Hail! ye flowers of the martyrs! whom the pursuer of Christ took off on the very threshold of life, as the whirlwind does the springing roses. Ye, the first victims of Christ, tender flock of immolated ones,—ye play simple before the altar itself with your palm and your crowns. What profits so great an impiety? What does his

crime avail Herod? Christ alone is taken away without hurt amid so many deaths; the offspring of the Virgin, alone untouched amid the torrents of blood of His own age, escaped the sword which was bereaving the young mothers. Thus of old Moses, the recoverer of his citizens, prefiguring Christ, escaped the foolish edicts of the wicked Pharaoh. But may our leader, having wounded the enemy, free from the darkness of death, us, who have been continually subdued to the command of error.

Martyrdom of St. Laurence.

Rome, ancient parent of heathen temples, but now devoted to Christ, victorious under the leadership of Laurence, triumph *over* the barbarous rite. Thou hadst conquered proud kings: thou hadst held down nations with thy rein: thou now imposest the yoke of thy empire upon monstrous idols. This only glory was wanting to the distinction of the toga-wearing city, that it having conquered the barbarism of the nations, it should subdue the filthy Jupiter. Not by the turbulent strength of Cossus Camillus, or Cæsar, but by the not bloodless battle of the martyr Laurence. After the continuous blaze had roasted his burned side, of his own accord he addresses the judge in a short discourse from the gridiron. Turn the part of my body already sufficiently long burned, and try what thy glowing Vulcan shall do. He said these things mocking, and then looks towards Heaven, and, pitying the city of Romulus, groans with compassion as he thus beseeches: O Christ, only Deity—O splendour, O virtue of the Father, O maker of the earth and sky, and author of those walls; who hast planted the sceptre of Rome on the summit of human things, commanding that the world should obey the Quirinal toga and yield to her arms, in order that thou alone mightest subdue to thy laws, the manners, and observances, and languages, and dispositions of diverse nations. Behold, the entire mortal race has gone under the sway of Remus. Dissonant rites speak and think the same things. This was pre-ordained, in order that the more readily the law of the Christian name might bind in one bond whatever land exists. Grant, O Christ, to thy Romans, that that state may be Christian, by which thou hast given, that there should be amongst the other states one mind in religion. Let all the members be united from every quarter into a combination; may the subject world become meek, and may its supreme head become meek. Let it perceive

that the adjoining shores are uniting into one *divine* grace. Let Romulus become faithful, and Numa himself believe. The Trojan error still confounds the senate of the Catos. It penetrates in secret the fire-shrines, the exiled penates of the Phrygians. The senate worships the double-headed Janus and Sterculus. I am horrified to mention so many monsters of the fathers, and the rites of old Saturn. Wipe away, O Christ, this shame, send forth Thy Gabriel, that the erring Julian blindness may acknowledge the true God. And now we hold most faithful hostages of this hope, for here reign the two princes of the apostles. The one the caller of the Gentiles; the other possessing the first seat, opens the gates of eternity entrusted to him. Depart, adulterous Jupiter, defiled with the corruption of thy sister; leave Rome free, and fly from the people, now *the people* of Christ. Paul exterminates thee hence, the blood of Peter drives thee out. That very deed of Nero, which thou thyself didst arm, hurts thee.

ST. VINCENT TO DARIAN.

HERE the judge, now more excited: Dost thou dare, he says, unfortunate man, to violate with harsh words this law of the gods and the emperors? Neither that sacred and public law to which the human race yields, nor, while thou fervently orderest, does the imminent danger move thee. For, receive this decree: either the altar is to be venerated by thee with incense and sod, or death is to be paid as the penalty in blood. He answered on the other hand: Come on, therefore, put forth whatever strength thou hast, I openly struggle against it. Receive what is our decision. There is Christ and God the Father. We are His servants and witnesses. Extort from us the faith, if thou canst. Torments, the dungeon, the iron hooks, and the metal plate hissing with flames, and the last of all penalties, death, is a sport to Christians. O your idle vanity, and the impotent decree of Cæsar! You order divinities worthy of your own senses, to be worshipped. *Divinities* cut out by the hand of the smith, molten in moulds, and by *aid of* bellows, which are destitute of voice or gait, motionless, blind, without tongue. To these are erected shrines, sumptuous with marble; to these the stricken necks of lowing oxen fall. There are there, present, spirits also, but they are the masters of your crimes and the diviners of your prosperity, wandering, powerless, sordid, who secretly compel you,

incited to every impiety, to ravage the just with murders, and to assail the nation of the pious. They themselves know and feel that Christ prevails and lives, and that His kingdom, tremendous to the faithless, will even now be present. Those gods, who are also demons, cry out confessing when they are at length driven from the lurking places of *human* bodies. He, the profane judge, did not endure the martyr thundering these things: He exclaims, Stop ye his mouth, that the wicked man may not utter more.

Martyrdom of St. Hippolytus.

The youths, round about in close array, repeated with clamour that he was the head of the Christ-worshipping races; that if the head were speedily extinguished, all the hearts of the multitude would freely be devoted to the Roman gods. They demand an unusual kind of death and newly-discovered punishments, *as an example*, at which example others may be terrified. He (*the judge*) sitting with a haughty neck: "What", he says, "is he called? They affirm that he is called Hippolytus. Therefore *let him be* Hippolytus—let him shake and excite yoked horses, and let him die torn asunder by wild horses". Scarcely *had he said* those things when the reins force together two animals ignorant how to submit their necks to the unaccustomed yoke; not stroked by the hand of a steady or quiet master, or previously subdued to bear the command of the horseman, but a wild herd lately taken from the wandering flock which savage fright drives in its untamed heart. And now the ties had united the resisting pair, and had connected their mouths with a discordant bond. Instead of a pole there is a rope which divides the backs of the two, and between them touches both the sides, and extending itself backwards a long way from the yoke behind the steps *of the horses*, is dragged along and passes the extremities of their feet. To the end of this, where upon the surface of the dust the beaten path follows the retreating paths of the horses, a noose fastens the legs of the man, and binds his feet in its tenacious knot, and ties them with a cable. After they arrayed with a sufficiently regulated preparation, the scourges, the bonds, and the wild animals, for the punishment of the martyr, they provoke them (the horses) with sudden threats and blows, and dig their sides with poisoned goads. The last saying of the venerable man *which was* heard is this: "Let those *horses* carry away my limbs; do thou, O

Christ, carry away my soul". They break forth eagerly, and are borne on by blind terror, whither the noise and their tremor and *their* fury drive them. Their wildness kindles them, their impetus hurries them away, and the crashing noise urges them forward. Nor does their swift course feel the moveable burthen *which they carry*. They rush through the woods and through the rocks, nor does the bank of the river retard them, nor the torrent in their way restrain them. They level down the hedges, and break through all obstacles. They seek the low and broken ground, they leap over the high places. The ground rough with thorn-bearing roots tears off morsels cut bit by bit from the battered body *of Hippolytus*. A part hangs upon the tops of the cliffs, a part sticks to the briars, the leaves are red with a part, the earth is damp with a part.

Inscription upon a Baptismal Font.

THIS place was made choice of by Christ, where He may raise men to Heaven by His blood, and purify them by water. Here two men slain for the name of the Lord endured purple martyrdom with honourable death. Here also pardon flows from the liquid fount, and washes away old stains with a new stream. He who desires to ascend the eternal kingdom of Heaven, let him come here thirsting. Behold the way has been prepared. Formerly the crowned witnesses scaled the lofty courts; now the souls bathed in the baptismal waters seek *the same* sublime *regions*. The spirit who has been wont to descend with an eternal gliding, as formerly he gave the palm, so now gives pardon. The earth drinks either sacred fountains, or dews from blood; and the water wells forth constantly to her God. He Himself is the Lord of the place, from the wound in both of whose sides, hence blood flowed, and thence water. You will go then according as each one can through the wounds of Christ, one carried on by the swords, and the other by the waters.

SAINT HILARIUS.

Dedication.

WE have obeyed thy admonitions, O prelate of Christ, having followed thy sweet commands, which, pious, thou gavest with

thy mouth. Would *it be possible that* I *should* not sing the praises of so great a father, the gift and the work of God, as long as I should have a tongue, hoarsely croaking indeed, and worthy of no crowns, and an humble intellect, but still I intend to speak of exalted things.

It is always a worthy and just work to speak thanks to thee, O omnipotent Creator of the world, from whom as their principle all things derived their natal day, and the race of men and the wild herds *of the field*, and the thousand species of birds, and the bands which roam through the liquid fields, beheld the luminaries suddenly arise after the darkness through the dull firmament. All things are through thee, who greatest the greatest things through thyself, nor *yet dost thou derive* thy origin from another; thou thyself an immortal spirit living throughout ages by ancient movement, wilt always be, because thou hast always been. * * * * When old chaos covered all things, and there was neither beauty nor form in the abyss, thou, O God, wast acting within; even then arranging the springing walls of the world, and the various appearances of things and the souls that were to come into existence. And when, the mist of the night being overcome, he (*the world*) brought out his head, raising his sublime countenance, the darkness perceived it. Shortly afterwards, the Lord of *all* things dispersed the inert slumbers *of the elements*, and inactive matter, moved by the Divinity, became excited. And now the internal warmth cherishes it, and brings it into motion with gentle fire.

And, first of all, the free expanse of the heaven, embracing all *parts* of the world in its space, is suspended in a lofty orb, the heavy Earth descended with her inert weight to the bottom, and having fixed herself, grounded she subsided into the sea. And in order that there might be a space of empty open region, where the soft air should nourish *all* things mortal, and through which so many gifts of the Father of things might issue, and when arisen might be borne through the void without any labour, the scattered waters are drawn together; by and by the watery plains are left within a certain limit, nor does the wave overpass her boundary. Then arises the kindly light, which, being ordered to be called day, bedewed the world with her soft lustre, disclosing thy benefits and thy works, thy excellent gifts, which thou the Creator, with paternal kindness, wert preparing to establish, and in order that the expert life of man might become illustrious by ethereal arts, *that life* which rejoices to spend entire days *in work*, and tries its genius by the varied praise *of occupations*.

Black night follows the day, and thick darkness follows, which should bear slumber to wearied bodies and a like appearance and form to all things. For the day-*light* variously distinguishes the aspects of things, and the night being dispersed, gives to each thing its own colour, and animates the minds *of men* glowing to greater works, sharpening mortal breasts with various cares. Whereby the day is rather the form of life, and the night the image of death.

Then the Father establishing the poles and endowing them with light, distinguishes the stars and the constellations grouped with various figures. But the greater light resides in the sun, whom, adorned with a bounteous gift, thou, O Creator, deemest worthy of full honour. He, fiery that he is, exalts his ray with lofty head, blushes with his broad face, and is borne along the walls of Heaven. Behold and wonder, a wondrous ornament; behold the new moon changes her course, collects *again* the fires which she loses, and quenching her horns, deprives her front of light; afterwards, however, she forms a circle with a complete orb. The nightly-shining luminary feeds the *new* born stars with light. Nor, however, is the machine which revolves in the eternal ether merely a picture of the sky, nor an arbitrary will—there exist a mind and reason beneath, and a suitable order for things. Hence instruction comes to the Earth, hence in fine counsel to all husbandmen; and those who wander over the deep seas, know the coming showers, and the fair dry weather; at what time the ploughman may take the oxen into the field, and the sailor may safely try the doubtful sea. The sky being furnished with fires, O best of Fathers, thou settest about adorning the earth, and dost endow with thy rich gift, the kingdoms of men and the dwellings of the herds and the resting place of birds. The fields lie level, the lofty swelling carries upward the hills, the valleys sink down, the flowering meadows bloom, the rock is hardened, the rich turf crumbles, the fountains break forth from whence all rivers have their origin. A thousand grasses of herbs arise in the fields. And now the crop shed the fruit from the tender ear, when as yet there was no yoke, nor any share of the plough, and no ox lowed in the furrowed fields. Behold also the vine full with the *juicy cluster*, as yet unexperienced of the pruning hook and ignorant of the hard iron, weaved its [135] leafy shadows on the high hills. There arise the forms of various wild beasts, quadruped beings, also animals creeping upon the earth, and birds spring up, swift upon their painted wings through the clouds.

These things being completed, when the Creator sees that in the world, now rich, all things demand the care of a great king, who should govern the sea, the lands, and all things born, and who should look upon the high Heaven and should praise the great gifts of God, that those things should not be established in vain: then: Let us make man, Thou sayest. Tell us, O greatest One! concerning whom Thou now speakest. It is plain. Thy Son already now sits beside Thee on Thy holy throne, and looks upon the Earth, which he loves. But: Let us make man, Thou sayest, whose countenance shall be our image, and from my hands let him proceed into life. Then, O maker of things, Thou takest the soft part of the earth, and dost form man. . . . . Happy mortal, whose Father is the right hand of the Thunderer!—oh! too happy, who derivest from Heaven both thy origin and thy form! If the noxious crimes of the Earth do not deceive thee, and flattering error do not overturn thee, thou wilt be a divinity, and returning to Heaven, wilt see the kingdoms which the Father discloses with His faithful mouth to the good. For, God bestowed of his own accord, many things upon thee at thy birth,—first, a Heavenly face and countenance, resembling the Father, and a straight march of the feet, and an upright neck, lest there might be any delay to the eyes looking towards Heaven; then hands quick and ready, and the ministers of life; and a breast, the home of divine reason and the seat of lofty counsel, and *having* the honour of pouring forth the voice.

These things were granted to man alone, for the remaining *animals* are a dumb herd. It obtained belly, entrails, nerves, channels of veins, and blood, diffused throughout the body. But thou, O Omnipotent One! bounteous with peculiar munificence towards man, and by thy hands, and by the adorable favour of thy work, bestowing upon him a pledge from thy paternal piety, lest anything should be wanting to his divine countenance, *Thou* mixed up with his entire body, breathest into him the fire of the Spirit, and suppliest to him a rich portion of the divine mind. Then he is enabled to recollect things past, hence it is given to know present things, and it is allowed to the soul to see future things. Hence we speak and sing God; hence also all the stars *revolve*, and the cultivation of the earth takes place, and the sea is moved; hence the arts, and the names of things, and modesty, and prudence, and justice; hence arise brave minds; hence proceeds honour, and the way which leads the virtuous to the thresholds of Heaven.

Therefore Thou settest over the lands, man, perfect with thy

full endowment,—*man*, to whom Thou deliverest the reins of *earthly* things, that he may have and subdue all things to himself, and may live the perpetual lord of the Earth, thy servant, and may possess all things of the world, but may obey Thee alone.

After the first man did not fear to eat of the forbidden tree, and, deceived by wiles, gave himself to the serpent, he stands guilty and naked imploring a garment with downcast eyes, and he flies from the Lord and hides his face; his companion guilt follows him; a life subject to sin weakens his strength, the gift coming from Heaven; the fire which had been sent down from the sky gradually fails; the hearts of men, becoming torpid, stiffen with the cold of sin; then comes the care of food and of desire, the care of covering the body; and mortal concerns enter the sacred breast of man.

Hence arises the offspring of sin; thence springs a much worse generation, and a progeny still worse than the former follows, increasing unto crimes by steps,—crimes which exasperate with goads the frantic hearts of men, and arm Thee, O Father, with various penalties. . . . . Then first came unseasonable rain to descend from the clouds, to lie upon the unjust Earth; then first were thunder-bolts hurled from the sky, *previously* serene; then first did the horrid hail beat the vexed fields, and the broken air murmur with loud-sounding thunder. Nor, however, do those *evils* recall the wicked *from their crimes*. Impious fury besets the Earth, and rage is carried along with flowing reins. Wars are the delight *of men*, and slaughter also, and perjury, and fraud, and it gives delight to lie: it is their love to plunder, and to hide the theft. There is no faith amongst the nations—no regard for truth. The crime of the Earth is washed away by the deluge, and one man remains above the waters, the renewer of the race and of the people. The ark protects a few, preserving the seeds of the virtuous,—a figure already shown of the laver to come.

After the swelling of the deluge ceased, the water subsided; the bird carried a leaf of the peaceful olive, and now, flying back with dry wings, it gave omens of peace.

Then arises a better race of people; then purer from the waters arises a race of men about to bring forth great descendants for the Earth. Thence came the heart of the priest devoted to piety; thence the boys prepared to sing amid the flames; thence the boy whom unfed lions did not touch. Then kings sang God, then the truth-speaking lips resplendent with the offspring of Heaven sound

for the prophets upon the Earth. Although crime being vanquished, all things obeyed God, still even now a drop of poison sprinkled the ancient people, and there were traces of fraud which the good physician would wash away by better waters.

SEDULIUS.

Miracles of the Old Law.

Of old the bush glowing with innocuous fires, though not burning, appeared to burn; nor did the wood combined with heat supply fuel, nor did the live shrub feel parching injuries, but in the heat of the friendly fuel the flames of mildness glided over the leafy trees.

The mild rod was animated into the merciless serpent, winding through bent coils, and with three-forked tongue swelling as to its scaly neck it devoured with its mouth the hostile water-snakes, and came into shrubs of its own consistence.

The pervious waters of the divided sea lay open rolled into two sides, and the naked earth is stripped of its kindred waters; and the crowd on foot enters into the sea of an absent ocean, and along the deep, the dry plains were stupefied to behold strange feet. Nature changed her way, and the people going through the midst of the waters, already experience a rude baptism. *That people* whose leader was Christ; for the lesson exclaims: The voice of the Lord is over many waters, the voice in fine is the word, and the word is Christ, who forming the harmonious testaments of the double law, opened the old abyss, that his doctrine following should move through level fields.

Why should I recount *how* the innumerable bands took angelic meats, and how the people, fed with aerial sweetness and clouds of supernal nectar, had its banquets on the brakes and its meats in the clouds?

Again the army, thirsting in the parched fields, where the regions had too long been dry, where the earth lay sick from the waters having been denied to her, where all hope of drinking and living was taken away, suddenly drew water from the dry metal, and the stream ran from the sterile rock, and the dry marble vomited forth a new drink, giving therefore already sacred gifts in these three things. Christ was the bread, Christ the rock, and Christ was in the waters. The ass, terrified by the angelic threats, addresses her rider in words, and with her

braying tongue a brute animal uttered human speech. The sun stood at Gabaön, and on the summit of the mid sky, and, unused to bridle the day, fixed his panting light, the evening being put off; nor did the moon, *now* indolent, run in her turn, until the glowing sword should consume a mighty enemy with ravaging arms. In the conspiring firmament the subject stars saw that Jesus would come by the name which had been sent before.[136]

Birth of the Lord.

O CONDESCENDING piety! in order that the servile yoke might not hold us under the rule of sin, the supreme Lord bore servile members, and He who clothes all things arising from the origin of the primeval world with His own gifts, confined in narrow bands, had *them for His* clothing; and He whom neither the moveable water of the stormy deep, nor the whole soil of the Earth, nor the spacious court of the wide firmament, contains, the same remained entire in an infantine body, and God reposed in a narrow manger. Hail, holy parent, mother just delivered, thou that hast brought forth the King who holds Heaven and Earth throughout all ages, and whose divinity and empire, embracing all things in its eternal circuit, remains without end; thou who in thy blessed womb having the joys of a mother with the honour of virginity, hast appeared to have no other woman like to thee before, nor any coming after *thee*. Thou art the only woman who without example has been pleasing to Christ. Then He as soon as born shone forth to the shepherds, previously ignorant of such an event, because he was a shepherd; the Lamb shone forth upon the flocks, and the angelic company sang the miracles. While such signs are being performed in the region of Bethlehem, Eastern Magi came, and great announcements disturb the cruel tyrant with anxious sayings—*namely*, that from the Eastern sky the leader lately born to the Jewish people had shone forth, that by Him the constellations, that by Him the new star shone. The fierce ruler of the Hebrew court boils *with rage*, thinking that this latter may succeed him, who was hitherto first: then having clouds of the mind under a serene brow, he secretly commands that He should be every where sought out as to be adored, whom he deals with as to be killed by fraud. Why dost thou rage, O Herod? Thou dost confess Christ in speech, and in meaning art eager to slaughter Him; and by reading the law thou neglectest the law, and threat-

enest thy rule to the King of kings. Lest, however, those of thy name be without an insane deed, another Herod shall see that perpetrated under the honour of the cross, but by the guilt of the race which thou dost plan. Therefore the eager Magi, keeping their eyes fixed upon the topmost Heaven, and following the royal glittering star, held on the desired way which under the future law led the adoring nations to the sacred cradle, and having at the same time paid down treasures according to the requirements of religion, in order that the very kinds of treasures might point out the Christ, they poured out golden gifts to the newborn king—they gave incense to the God, and myrrh for the sepulchre. But why, however, these *kinds of* gifts? Because faith, the greatest hope of life, has confessed this number, and God, who discerns all things, present, past, and future, is always present, and has always been and will ever remain in the threefold virtue of Himself. Then they, during their sleep, admonished from above to contemn the orders of the tyrant, going through the devious regions of an altered path, returned to their own country. Thus we also, if we desire to reach our holy country after we have come to Christ, must not repeat iniquity. Therefore, when the impious king found that he was deceived, he opens his wrath, [if he, indeed, can be called a king, who is destitute of piety and does not govern his own anger], and groaning over the crime which had been snatched from him, as a roaring lion, from whose mouth when suddenly the tender lamb slips, directs his attack against the entire flock, and devours and tears the soft herd, and the fearful dams vainly call their pledges, and fill the empty air with bleating: even so Herod, stung by the deliverance of Christ, does not forbear, monster that he is, to prostrate wantonly the shattered troops of the little ones. For what crime does the innocent crowd perish? How could these have deserved this, who have hardly had leave to be born? It is madness, not reason, that dwells in the bloody king, and killing the first wailings *of infancy*, and daring to perpetrate an impiety which cannot be expressed in number, he slaughters infant thousands and gives one cause of weeping to so many mothers. This woman broke the torn hairs from her stripped head, this other cut her cheeks, this other smote her naked breast with clenched hands, and the unhappy mother (now no longer a mother) vainly presses her cold son against her bereaved bosom. Butcher, what was thy feeling when thou sawest such things, or what roars didst thou not utter when from the topmost tower thou sawest the wounds raging far and wide, and didst behold the vast plains disturbed

before thy eyes with such lamentations? And Christ, although absent from the slaughtered infants, was present to them, He who always undertakes holy dangers, and feels the punishments inflicted upon the body of another.

AUSONIUS.

Now the clear morning unbars the windows, and the watchful swallow twitters in her nest: thou, O Parmeno, sleepest as if it were early night and midnight. The dormice sleep through the entire winter, but then they abstain from food: thy cause of sleep is, that thou drinkest too much and dost distend thy fat with too large a bulk. Hence, neither does a sound enter thy curved ears, and deep stupor weighs upon the place of the mind; neither do the flashes of the sparkling light strike thy eye. Fable invents *a story of* a yearly repose, continuing during the changes of light and darkness, for a youth whose slumbers the moon prolonged. Arise, trifler, who art *otherwise* to be whipped with rods,—arise, lest a long sleep be given to thee whence thou dost not expect. Snatch thy limbs, O Parmeno, from the soft couch. Perhaps this very song, attuned in Sapphic verse, may encourage sleep for thee. Vigorous Iambus, drive away the measure of the Lesbian poetess from the sleeping man.

PARECBASIS.

Hist, boy! arise, and give me my shoes and a linen towel: give me anything that thou hast prepared for dress, that I may go out. Let me wash my hands and face and eyes with spring water, and take care that the oratory be open, with no parade externally. Let there be pious words, innocent prayers,—there is an opportunity of the divine act.[137] Neither do I ask for incense to be burned, nor for a cake of honeyed paste, and I leave the hearth of fresh sod for vain altars. God is to be supplicated by me, and the Son of the Most High God, the majesty of *the God*, one in nature associated to the Holy Ghost. And behold, now I begin my vows, and my thought, fearful, feels the presence of the Divinity. Faith and hope fear without reason.

MORNING PRAYER.

OMNIPOTENT *God*, whom I worship in my mind, sole Father of all things, unknown to the wicked and unknown to none of the pious, wanting beginning and end, more ancient than any time that was or will be; Thou, whose form and manner neither can the mind embrace nor the tongue utter; whom to see and to hear openly commanding,[138] and to sit at the Father's right hand, the God begotten of an unbegotten Father, alone has the right; who, offended by the crimes of His proud people, called the Gentiles to His empire, that He might be worshipped by a better line of an adopted race. Whom it was permitted to our forefathers to see, which divinity being seen, it was also given to see the Father; who bore our taint, and, having passed through the mockery of direful death, taught that the way of eternal life was capable of being travelled, and that not only the soul travels back, but that with the entire body she enters the Heavenly regions, and leaves the vain secrecy of the tomb disclosed in the empty earth. Son of the supreme Father, and the bearer of salvation to our age, to whom the Father has given all the paternal virtues, retaining nothing out of envy, and *yet* full of gifts, open a way to my prayers, and bear those things to the paternal ears. Grant to me, O Father, an unconquered mind against all crimes, and turn away the viperous wickedness of the noxious poison. Let it be enough that the serpent betrayed the ancient Eve, and added to her the deceived Adam; let us, the late seeds of his descendents, *we who belong* to the age foretold by the truth-speaking prophets, let us escape the snares which the deadly snake entwines: open to me a way by which, after the chains of the weak body *shall have been unbound*, I may bear myself aloft where the milky path of the pure sky rises above the wandering clouds of the windy moon, whither the pious patriarchs have gone, and whither of old, Elias, carried off above the air in the four-yoke chariot, penetrated entire, *as did* Enoch, who had gone before him with the complete body. Grant to me, O Father, the hoped-for splendour of the eternal light, if I do not swear by gods of stone, and looking up to the one altar of the reverend sacrifice, I hear the pure salvation of life,—if I acknowledge thee as the Father of the only begotten Lord and God, and the Spirit mingled with both, who moved over the waves of the sea; grant pardon, O Father, and purify my tortured breast. If I seek thee not in fibres of sheep, nor in their blood, which has been shed, and imagine a Deity

under the entrails of flesh ; if I abstain from guilt, subject though I be myself to error; and if I rather hope than trust to be afterwards good and pure, grant me a confessing soul: if I execrate my frail members, and if I am silently penitent, and a deep dread tortures my senses, and anticipates the final torments of Hell, and the wounded mind suffers her own death, grant, O Father, that those desires may be ratified at our prayer. Let me fear nothing, and let me desire nothing; let me deem that to be sufficient which is sufficient; let me wish for nothing base, nor let me be a cause of shame to myself; let me neither be hurt by *the commission of* a real crime, nor stained by a doubtful one; there appears to be little difference between the suspected man and the really guilty man; let me have no means to do ill, and let me have a great power to do well: let me be of frugal fare and habit, and even, O Father, without the wound of this name, let me not be pained in mind or in body; let all my members discharge their quiet functions, and let not my habit of life, maimed of any of its parts, miss anything lost *from them.* Let me enjoy peace, let me live in security, let me think the wonders of the earth no wonders; when my last hour shall have come to me; let my life, conscious of being well spent, neither fear nor desire death. When, through thy indulgence, I shall appear safe from hidden *sins*, let me despise all things, when it shall be my only pleasure to hope for thy judgment; which, while it puts off its own seasons, and the day tarries, drive thou afar the cruel ensnarer, the serpent with his flattering errors. O Christ, merciful as thou art, plead before the eternal Father those prayers, pious indeed but trembling with a sorrowful feeling of guilt, thou, O God, the Saviour and Lord, the Mind, the Glory, the Word, the Son, and true Light from true Light, remaining with the eternal Father, reigning for *all* ages, whom the harmonious nations celebrate with modulated verse, and strikes the air with responsive voices: Amen!

In praise of Bordeaux.

I ALREADY long since condemn my impious silence, because, O my country, I do not enumerate, amongst the foremost, thee, illustrious for wine, for rivers, and for heroes, for the morals and the intellects of thy men, and for thy senate of nobles; as if aware of but a small city, I doubted that undue praise might fall *to hee.* My timidity is not from hence, for neither is the barbarous

region of the Rhine my country; nor is my icy home in the Arctic Hœmus; Bordeaux is my natal soil, where prevail mildness of the sky and bounteous indulgence of the well-watered earth, a long spring, a short winter, and leafy hill-ranges, and the rivers boil, imitating the wandering of the sea. The walls have four aspects, so high with lofty towers that their summits enter the ærial clouds: within, thou mayest admire the separate courses of the houses, and how the broad streets preserve their appointed name, and also the gates corresponding with straight cross roads; and the bed of a river from a source[139] through the middle of the city, which bed, when Father Ocean has filled with his refluent tide, thou wilt behold the entire sea in motion with fleets. Why must I mention the fountain covered with Parian marble, which boils through the strait of an aqueduct? What a shade of depth! What a swell in its river! With what a body it rushes headlong within the margin of its restrained course, through twelve mouths, never exhausted for the innumerable purposes of the people! O Median king, thou wouldst desire to add this fountain to thy camp. When the rivers failed, their course being consumed, thou wouldst have desired them to carry the waters of this fountain through foreign cities; to all who had been accustomed to drink the Choaspes only. Hail, spring! whose origin is unknown, sacred, gentle, perpetual, crystal, sea-green, deep, sonorous, pure from mud, dark! Hail, genius of city! fit to be drank as a medicinal draught: diviner, in the language of the Celts,—a fountain added to the divinities! Neither Aponus is purer for drink, nor Nemausus for its crystal light, nor Timavus fuller in his sea-like river.

This final labour of mine had drawn together celebrated cities, and as illustrious Rome is the head of the number, so under this head, may Bordeaux strengthen her dwelling on the double summit. The latter is my country, but Rome is superior to all countries: I love Bordeaux; I worship Rome; I am citizen in the former; I am consul in both; here is my cradle, there is my curule chair.

To his Grandson concerning the Studies of Boyhood.

THE muses also have sport mingled with their songs. These are moments of leisure, sweet grandson, nor does the imperious voice of the master always try boys, but repose and the alterations of study keep their stated seasons. It is sufficient for an

attentive boy to have read willingly, he is also allowed to pause from study. The school has been so called by a Greek name, in order that proper leisure may be given to the labour-causing muses. For which reason, learn the more willingly, knowing that play in its turn will succeed study: we grant intervals to mitigate your long labour. Boyish study gets weary, unless joyous feasts are interchanged with austere pursuits. Learn willingly, and do not, O grandson, detest the reins of the darksome teacher: the form of the master is never horrid. Although he may be severe from old age, and not mild in voice, the countenance becomes pleasing from custom. The child who has once sucked will love the wrinkles of the nurse. Who avoids his mother? The late grandchildren, their new care, prefer their trembling grandfathers and grandmothers to their fathers. Thus, neither did Chiron, blended with the Thessalian horse, terrify Achilles, nor did the pine-bearing Atlas terrify the son of Amphytrion, but both of those soothed the young pupils with mild discourses. Nor do thou fear, although the school resounds with many a blow, and the old master carry a truculent aspect. Fear bespeaks degenerate minds. But do thou, intrepid, be consistent with thyself, neither let the clamour nor the sounding strokes, nor terror, disturb thee in the morning hours, because he wields the sceptre of the ferula, because there is a great array of rods, because he has deceitfully covered the whip with leather, nor because the benches are noisy with anxious tumult. Let the parade of the place and the scene of vain fear be avoided. Thy father and mother having followed those courses, smoothed for me, quiet as I am, a tranquil old age. Thou who bearest the name of thy grandsire, by thy early character, thou who art my first grandson in fact and in expectation, do thou extend to me an old age to be enjoyed (so much as the fates may add to my gliding years). Now I see thee a boy; presently I shall see thee a youth; and then a man, if chance shall so have ordered it; or if this be denied me, I shall hope, nor shall my prayers tire, that, not unmindful of me and of thy father, thou mayest always desire the lofty rewards of the muses, and eloquent, mayest yet walk by the way along which we[140] have gone before this, and which thy father the proconsul, and thy uncle the prefect, trod. Read whatever is worthy of being related. I shall mention the principal matter. The composer of the Iliad, and the words of the amiable Menander, are to be read once by thee. Do thou, by the inflected refinement of thy voice, render the innumerable metres with learned accents, and lay the expression as thou readest. The distinction increases the sense,

and the pauses give strength to the weak. When will those gifts fall to the lot of my old age? When thou wilt read for me, and renew by reciting them, so many connected events of history throughout ages, and the *comic* socks, and courts of kings, and tuneful and lyric measures, and wilt make the dulled senses of the old man grow boyish again. While thou my grandson, goest before me, I may again learn the tuneful verses of Flaccus and the high-sounding Maro. Thou also, O Terence, who enlivenest Latium with thy choice speech, and dost traverse the stage with tidy sock, force my old age, hardly mindful of such things, to new "diverbia", and now, O Catiline, *I read* thy crime and the tumult of Lepidus. Now, beginning from the consulship of Lepidus and Catulus, I connect the affairs and annals of Rome as a series through twelve years. Now, I read the conflict mingled with civil war, which the exile Sertorius stirred up from the allied Iberus.

AUSONIUS TO PAULINUS.

IAMBUS, *sharper* than Parthian darts, or those of the Cydonians, Iambus, swifter than the wings of birds, more headlong than the onset of the rushing Po, and thicker than the cloud of sounding hail, more quivering than the flame of the flashing thunderbolt, now fly through the air, borne up by the heel-wings of Perseus and the caps of the rich Arcadian. If the story be true of Hippocrene, which the furious horse poured out, called from the earth by the blow of his foot, thou thyself, born in the very fountain of Pegasus, first of all hast joined the metres of new feet; and there, while the nine muses sang in accord with thee, didst incite Delius to the slaughter of the dragon. Bear this greeting quick and bird-footed to the walls of Paulinus (I mean Hebromanus, *Ebraux*), and straightway, if, having recovered his strength, he thrive in the ready movement of his renewed body, ask of him greeted, a greeting *for me* in return. Make no delay, and return while I am yet speaking, having imitated that author of thy race, who, safe by reason of the fire next *to him*, flew over the Chimera, raging with triple conflagration. Say, thy friend and neighbour, thy favourer, the author of thy honour, the fosterer of thy genius, sends thee greeting, and desires thee. Say also thy master, thy parent, *does* so: use all the soft, mild, and holy names of affection. And having said "Hail!" say "Farewell!"

and return forthwith. Should he ask what I, who am of sufficiently mature age and not inexperienced, think concerning his new writings, say that thou knowest not, but that there will presently be prepared a wagon full of heroic verses, to which I shall yoke, drawn from the turnings of the mills, three-footed horses, whose backs are cut with the whip, who turn rocks of millstone weight: to be carried by these, are three comrades my messengers. Perhaps he will ask what comrades it is that thou sayest will come together. Say: I have seen the three-footed dactyl prepared with his racking canter. Companion to him went the slow-paced Spondee, who detains my own advance at equal intervals, and is like myself, but at the same time my opposite, neither even nor odd, who is called Trochee. Say these things rapidly, and fly without having delayed, bringing back some kind of little gift from the abundance of his musical repository.

AUSONIUS TO PAULINUS.

THIS fourth letter has disclosed to thee, O Paulinus, my well-known complaints, and has assailed thee indolent with kindly speech; but no page has repaid me the pious office, writing well-wishing words upon greeting letters. Whence did my unsuccessful sheet, which thy delay spurns with such continued haughtiness, deserve this repulse? And yet enemy receives from enemy a greeting, amid their barbarous words, and "Salve"[141] is heard in the midst of the fight. The rocks also answer; his utterance reflected from the caverns returns to man; the vocal image of the woods returns, and cliffs upon the shore cry out; the rivers utter murmurs, and the hedge fed upon by the bees of Hybla whispers. There is also a musical modulation on the reedy banks, and the hair of the pines speaks tremulously with its winds, as often as the light Eurus has pressed upon their sharp leaves. The songs of Dindyma answer the Gargaric grove. Nature has given nothing mute, the birds of the air are not silent, neither are the quadrupeds silent; the serpents also have their hisses, and the watery herd pants with its substitute for a voice. Cymbals give a sound by their[142] clash, the stage gives *forth a sound* when struck by the leaping of the feet, the hollow drums reëcho with the tightened skins. The Mareotic timbrel agitates the Isiac[143] tumults, nor ceases the tinkling of the Dodonæan brass, as often as the docile basins struck with a regulated blow give answer to the rods that strike them according to

measure. Thou, taciturn, as if thou dwell in the Abalian Amyclæ, or as if the Egyptian Sigalion have sealed thy lips, art obstinately silent, O Paulinus. I admit thy shame, because a continued cessation strengthens its own fault,[144] and when one is ashamed of having been long silent, it pleases him to omit the interchange of kind offices, and long indoleuce loves its fault. What prevents thee from writing "Salve" and "Vale" with studied brevity, and from committing to a letter words of salutation? I do not ask that the page should weave long verses, or that thou shouldst load thy tablets with manifold speech. It was a single letter that the Lacedemonians gave as answer, and pleased the angry king while giving him a denial. For there is an agreeable brevity, if the story be true, that Pythagoras born again[145] taught, when talkative people were scattering many matters in ambiguous words, against all of those he answered either "and?" or "no". O certain rule of speaking! For there is nothing shorter nor fuller than those words, which affirm what have been established, or shatter what have been weakened. No one has been pleasing by remaining silent, many have been *pleasing* by shortness of speech.

PAULINUS TO AUSONIUS.

Why, O Father, dost thou command that the muses abandoned by me should return to my care? Breasts dedicated to Christ deny themselves to the muses, and do not lie open to Apollo. There once existed between thee and me this agreement, not in equal riches of genius, but in equal zeal, to summon the deaf Phœbus from the Delphic cavern, to call the muses divinities, and to ask the gift of speech, which is conferred by the bounty of God, from fountain, wood, or hill-tops. Now, another power moves my mind, a greater God *moves it*, and demands from me morals *of a* different *kind*, asking back from man his gift, that we may live an equal life. He forbids us to employ ourselves in vain and fabulous writings, whether in leisure time or for business, in order that we may obey His laws and discern His light. Although the cunning fallacies of the sophists, and the art of the rhetoricians, and the invention of the poets, who imbue the hearts of men with falsehood and vanity, and furnish only the tongue, contributing nothing which may discover truth, so that they may give salvation, should cloud that light. For what that is good or true can they possess, who do not possess the head of the

universe, God, the fountain and fuel of truth and goodness, whom no one sees unless in Christ? He is the light of truth, the way of life, the strength, the mind, the hand, the virtue of the Father, the Sun of justice, the fountain of all good things, the flower of God, born of God, the Creator of the world, the life of our mortality, and the death of death; He is the master of virtue, God unto us, and man for us; by putting on us He put off Himself, linking eternal intercourse between man and God, and between themselves. As soon, therefore, as He from Heaven darts His ray into our inmost heart, He wipes away the sickly uncleanness of the indolent body, and renews the condition of the mind. He drives out everything which previously served in the place of lawful pleasure, and with the absolute right of Lord claims for Himself our hearts, and lips, and time. He desires that He should be meditated, understood, believed, read, feared, and loved. The faith of a future life with God, abhors the vain tumults which the labour of life excites in the road of this present existence, *with God*, who does not reject as profane or vile the *intellectual* riches which we appear to spurn, but *merely* admonishes *us* that there are laid up in Heaven other riches entrusted as more precious to Christ our God, who has promised more than the things given.[146]

Concerning the death of Celsus.

Celsus before *his death* was a boy of illustrious parents and ancestral name, but now he is in truth Celsus; whom the Lord Christ has endowed with such accumulated bounty, that he, fresh in years, should go, renewed with the waters, and that a redoubled grace should carry him to God, in two senses an infant, by reason of his time of life and of the fountain of the laver. Alas! what shall I do? In suspense I suffer from a doubtful affection as to whether I congratulate him or grieve for him. Worthy of both was the boy: whose love excites tears, and whose love excites joy; but faith commands me to rejoice—pity bids me weep. I weep that so small a fruit was given to his parents from so sweet a pledge in a brief *moment* of time. Again, when I consider the perpetual blessings of eternal life, which God prepares in Heaven for the innocent, I rejoice that, having gone through mortal life in a short existence, he has died, that he might enjoy the divine grandeur, lest, mingling with the unjust, he should contract earthly taint in the frail

dwelling of the body, but that, sullied with no crime of this world, he might go more worthily to the Lord. Therefore, the infant due to God rather than to us, but pleasing to God for us also, had begun, a little one, to enter upon his eighth year, living through the first season of life with a swift course. Already subjected to the stern command of the grammar-master, did he bear the boyish yoke upon his tender neck; and what the noble boy was taught, he imbibed with docile understanding, while his master wondered. His apprehensive parents rejoiced with anxious heart, fearing the envy of such a gift.[147] Nor was the delay long. Christ our God, summoning from the sky, took the soul which pleased Him with deserved honour, and suddenly snatched him from the Earth, that he might be worthy to live associated with His divine councils.

Introduction to the Panegyric of St. Felix.

THE spring opens for the birds their voices: my tongue has as its own spring the birth-day of Felix, on which day the winter itself blooms for the rejoicing people; and although the season still protracts winter with black cold in the midst of the frosts, the year being stiff over the hoary lands, on this day nevertheless our pious joys make a gladsome spring. Sadness, the winter of the mind, departs, now that cares are driven from our bosoms; the clouds of sadness fly from our serene hearts, as the gentle swallow recognizes the friendly days; as likewise do the white birds with black wings, and the turtle, the kindred of the pious dove; and as neither do the bushes resound with the song of the acalanthes, unless in the early spring,—for as yet they wander mute under the rough hedges,—but by and by the birds rejoice in all directions, as various in their tongues as in their party-coloured wings, even so I acknowledge this day, which the holy festivals renew, in just honour of the great Felix. Now the pleasing spring is born again for me in the rejoicing year. Now it pleases to open my lips in measures, and my verses to prayers, and to flourish with new sounds. O God, flow into my heart, and fill me, thirsting, with Thy divine springs. But one drop from Thee, shed upon my marrow, will be a river. For, what wonder is it if, with a little dew, Thou dost fill the least of souls,—Thou, who made man in a little body, hast filled the world with eternal seed, and hast preserved the entire Earth with a drop of Thy

blood? Assent to my prayer, O Thou Fountain of the Word, Thou God Word, and make me tuneful with sweet voice, like that bird of spring, which, hidden under the green foliage, is wont to soothe with many-measured strains the lonely fields; and with but a single tongue, by her changed song, to utter, not single sounds. The bird is of uniform colour in her feathers, but diversified in her speech. Now she rolls warbling measures; now, protracts sharp whistling with long sounds; again begins, as it were, a mournful song, and as if anticipating her complaint by the end, deceives our astonished ears by breaking off the melody. Thus may Thy grace constantly flow to me, O Christ; and still I pray, that, like that bird, it may be given to me to vary my measures, and to bring forward my already promised verses in metres, changed, although, by one mouth; because rich grace ever adds various matter to the wonderful virtues of the Lord, which Christ our God multiplies in thee, dear Felix, performing illustrious miracles with salvation-bearing signs. . . . .

RHETORIC COURSE.

TERTULLIAN'S APOLOGY.

If it be not permitted to you, O princes of the Roman empire, presiding in judgment openly and publicly at the very summit of the state, to consider above board, and examine in presence of all, what is evidently *to be seen* in the cause of the Christians; if your authority, at the bare appearance of this cause, is either afraid or ashamed to inquire concerning the diligence of justice; if, in fine—what has lately happened—the persecutions of this religion have proceeded so much by way of private information as to shut up the way to defence, let it be permitted to truth to reach your ears, even by the secret way of silent writing. She makes no complaint regarding her cause, because neither does she wonder at her condition; she knows that she lives as a traveller upon the Earth—that amongst strangers she easily finds enemies, but that her origin, her hope, her station, her grace, her dignity, are in Heaven. Meanwhile she desires one thing, namely, that she be not condemned unknown. What loss is it to the laws ruling in their own domain, if she be heard? Or will their power be more glorified, because they will condemn the truth, even unheard? But if they condemn it unheard, besides the

odium of injustice, they will deserve the suspicion of a certain consciousness *that they are wrong*, being unwilling to hear that which, when heard, they cannot condemn.

Consult your commentaries, there you will find that Nero was the first who raged with the imperial sword against this community, then arising principally at Rome. But we even glory in such a pronouncer of our condemnation. For who that knows him, does not understand that nothing but a great good was condemned by Nero? Domitian also, being himself a part of the Neronian cruelty, made the attempt, but, in as far as he was a man at all, he found no difficulty in stopping the undertaking, having even restored those whom he had banished. Our persecutors have always been such as those—unjust, impious, and base men, whom you yourselves have been wont to condemn, and those condemned by whom, you have been accustomed to restore. But out of the so numerous princes understanding human and divine things, who have reigned since then up to the present day, mention any one who has waged war upon the Christians. But we, on the contrary, mention a protector. If the letters of Marcus Aurelius, that most reverend emperor, be sought out, in which he testifies that the thirst *of the army*, *during the* Germanic *wars*, was removed by a shower obtained through the prayers of some Christian soldiers *happening* by chance *to be in the army*, who, as he openly removed the punishment from those men, also openly distributed it in another way, having added a condemnation, and indeed a more stern one, to their accusers. What kind of laws, therefore, are they which the impious, the unjust, the base, the cruel, the vain, the mad, alone carry out against us? which Trajan defeated to some extent, forbidding that the Christians should be sought after; which no Adrian, although an explorer of all curious *things or doctrines;* no Vespasian, although he was the vanquisher of the Jews; no Pius, no Verus, stamped with his sanction? Truly, the worst of men should more naturally be judged worthy to be eradicated by all the best, as by their opposites, than by their own companions.

We are said to be stained with the deepest guilt, by reason of our rite of infanticide and the food *we use during it.* Still we are always *merely* said to be so; nor do you take any means to discover why we have been so long said to be so. Therefore, either find it out, if you believe it, or, since you do not find it out, do not believe. From your own dissimulation it is proved that we are not that, which you yourselves do not venture to discover. You command a far different office *to be discharged* by the execu-

tioner towards the Christians, namely, *to force them*, not that they say what they do, but that they deny what they are.

The reputation of this rite dates, as we have already published, from the time of Tiberius, when truth, from hatred of herself, began to be displeasing from the moment she appeared. She has as many enemies as there are strangers to her, and the Jews, indeed, as might be expected, from jealousy; the soldiers, from the pressure of authority; and from the *weakness of* nature, even our own co-religionists. We are continually beset; we are continually betrayed; we are fallen upon, for the most part, in our very meetings and congregations. Who, under such circumstances, ever came upon a wailing infant? Who ever unlocked for the judge the bloody mouths of those Cyclops and Syrens as he had found them? Who is there, who, when he had discovered such crimes, concealed them, or sold his knowledge *for a bribe*, at the same time that he brought the criminals themselves *to justice?*

In order that I may appeal to the evidence of nature herself against those who assume that such things are to be believed, behold, we assign a reward of such crimes. Believe awhile, *for argument sake*, that they give a promise of eternal life, for concerning this I put my question,—whether thou who believest *those accusations*, wouldst set such a value upon reaching *eternal life*, with a like consciousness of guilt? Come, plunge thy sword into an infant guilty of no fault, or, if that be the function of another, do thou be present at the death of a man before he has well begun to live; wait for the young soul in its flight; receive his unformed blood; saturate thy bread with it; eat gladly. Initiated in such rites, and stamped *with such a mark*, thou livest for ever. I wish thee to answer me, whether eternity be worth such a price; or if not, *then* that those accusations are not to be believed. Even if thou did believe that *eternity could be so purchased*, I deny that thou wouldst wish *so to purchase* it. Even though thou didst wish it, I deny that thou couldst *so purchase* it. Why, therefore, can others do it, if ye cannot? I suppose we are of a different nature. Are we Cynopæ or Sciapodes? Have we different rows of teeth *from other races of men?* Thou, who believest those things concerning a man, canst do the same thyself. Thou thyself art a man, as is the Christian. Thou, who canst not do the thing, ought not to believe it: for the Christian is a man, just as thou art.

But the practice is thrown, forsooth, in the way of those who know nothing of the facts, and is imposed upon them; for *we are*

to imagine truly that they did not know that any such thing was asserted regarding the Christians, *nor did they know* that the matter should be observed by them, and investigated with all diligence. But *we must suppose that* the custom is, that the father of the ceremonies, when people wish to be initiated, should approach them; then he says: "An infant is necessary for thee, newly born, who may smile under thy knife; and also bread, with which thou mayest soak up the broth of his blood. Supposing now that all these things are prepared for people who are ignorant of them beforehand, at all events, they know them afterwards, and endure them and forgive them. They are afraid of being killed perhaps; the very men who, if they proclaim *those abominations*, will deserve to be protected; those very men who would freely prefer to die rather than to live under the consciousness of such guilt. Supposing, then, that they are afraid, why do they persevere? For it follows that thou dost not wish that thou shouldst any longer be that which thou wouldst not have been, hadst thou previously known what it was.

In order that I may more effectually refute those *accusations*, I shall show that by yourselves, partly above board and partly in secrecy, the thing is done; by which, perhaps, you have believed it concerning us. Infants throughout Africa were openly immolated to Saturn, until the proconsulate of Tiberius, who exposed upon votive crosses the priests themselves, upon the very trees of their temples, the shelterers of their crimes, in presence of the army of our country, which employed that proconsul for the purpose. But even now this sacred crime is continued in secrecy. The Christians are not the only people who despise you, nor is any wickedness eradicated for a continuance, nor does any god *of yours* change his habits. When Saturn did not spare his own children, he certainly did not persevere in sparing those of others, whom their own parents immolated, and caressed the infants in order that they might not be sacrificed weeping. And, nevertheless, parricide differs much from homicide.

The more advanced age was sacrificed to Mercury amongst the Gauls. I send back the fables of Tauris to their theatres. Behold, in that most religious city of the pious Æneadæ, there is a certain Jupiter whom in their games they drench with human blood. But you say it is with the blood of a Bestiarius. Am I to consider that this *sacrifice of the Bestiarius* is less than that of a man, or more disgraceful, because that of a bad man? Nevertheless, the blood is shed from the killing of man. O *truly* Christian Jupiter, *according to the way in which Christians are caricatured*, and son of thy father, merely by reason of the cruelty *of both*.

But since with regard to infanticide there is no difference, whether it be perpetrated as a sacred rite, or by private will, although there be a difference as to parricide, I shall turn to the people. Do you wish that I should smite the consciences of those judges who stand around, and who are most severe against us, who kill the children born to themselves? And if there be any difference as to the kind of death, you force out the life more cruelly in water, or else you expose it to cold and hunger, and to dogs, for the more advanced age chooses to die by the sword.

As to the food of blood and tragic meals of this description read, I do not know exactly where it is to be found (I think in Herodotus), that certain nations prepared for the purpose of treaties, blood shed from the arms, and tasted by each other. Something, I know not what, of the same kind was tasted under Catiline; and they say that amongst some tribes of the Scythians each dead man is eaten by his relatives. But I am going far *in quest of examples.* Even here, blood drawn from the thigh, received upon a date, given as food, marks those who are consecrated to Bellona; and those also who at a show in the arena, have drunk with a view to cure the falling sickness, and with greedy thirst, the fresh blood of slaughtered criminals, where are they? Also those who from the arena sup upon the meats of wild beasts—who seek them from the boar and from the stag? The boar cleansed by struggling him whom he had covered with blood; that stag lay in the blood of the gladiator; the bellies of bears themselves, as yet full of undigested human entrails, are sought after to be eaten, and flesh which has fed upon man is belched forth by man. Ye who eat such things, how far are you not from the banquets of the Christians!

Your error is a subject of shame to us Christians, who have not indeed the blood of animals amongst our eatable meats; who abstain from suffocated animals and from animals that die naturally, in order that we may not be contaminated with blood, even with that enclosed in the entrails. Finally, amongst the temptations of Christians, you even present to them sausages distended with blood, being certain that that is unlawful amongst them, whereby you wish that they should leave the right way. Moreover, what *kind of idea* is it that they who, you are persuaded, abhor the blood of animals, should be eager for human blood? Unless, perhaps, you have experienced that it is sweeter; which, indeed, as a test of the Christians, it would have been right to have applied, like the hearth and the censer. For they should have been equally detected by desiring human blood as by refusing sacrifice;

thus they should be killed if they had tasted, just as if they had not sacrificed, and certainly human blood would not have been wanting you in the trial and condemnation of the prisoners.

For this reason, therefore, the Christians are public enemies, because they do not devote vain and idle honours to the emperors, and because men of the true religion celebrate even their solemnities rather through a feeling of what is right than through wantonnesss. A great duty *of allegiance* indeed!—to bring ont your fires and your beds into the public thoroughfare, and to feast in the streets; to disguise the town in the appearance of a tavern; to make mud by spilling wine; to run together in troops to acts of outrage and impudence, and to the enticements of passion? Is it thus that the public joy is to be expressed by the public disgrace? Do those things become the solemn days of the emperors which do not become any other day? Are men, on account of Cæsar, to abandon that regularity which they observe through respect for Cæsar? and will the license of bad morals be piety? and will the occasion of profligacy be a religious observance? O truly worthy of condemnation, we Christians! For why do we, chaste, and temperate, and pious, efface the vows and the joys of the Cæsars? Why, upon the joyful day, do we not overshadow our door-posts with laurels, and break in upon the day light with our lamps? It is an honourable thing, upon the requirement of any public selemnity, to clothe your house with the appearance of some new kind of brothel.

In this observance of the second majesty (as *coming next to that of the Deity*), concerning the *neglect of* which we Christians are drawn into *the imputation of* a second kind of sacrilege, by not celebrating with you the solemnities of the Cæsars, in a way in which neither decency, nor reverence, nor modesty permit, I should wish to show up your own loyalty and truth, lest haply in this particular also, they be found worse than the Christians, who do not wish that we be considered Romans, but as enemies of the Roman emperors. I appeal to the Quirites, to the vernacular people itself of the Seven Hills, whether that Roman tongue of theirs spares any one of its Cæsars. Tiberius and the amphitheatre of the beasts are my witness. If, at this moment, nature were to draw over the breasts of the citizens some material for assisting the sight, for the purpose of those breasts being seen through; whose heart would not appear engraven with the largess of a new Cæsar, presiding over the scene, to be distributed *amongst the crowd;* even in that very Rome in which they cry out, "May Jupiter increase thy years out of our years"? The

Christian is as ignorant how to say those things of the living Cæsar as to think them of the new Cæsar *to come*. But the crowd, thou sayest, act as the crowd. Still they are Romans, nor are any[148] more active challengers of the Christians than the plebeians. But, manifestly, the other orders from their authority are religious in their allegiance towards the *emperors*. Nothing hostile[149] breathes from the senate itself, from the equestrian order, from the camp, from the palace itself. Whence came the Cassii, and Nigri, and Albini? whence they who assail Cæsar between the Two Laurels? whence those who practise gymnastics for the purpose of strangling him? whence are those who, armed, burst into the palace, more audacious than all the Sigerii and Parthenii? All this comes from the Romans, or I am mistaken, and not from the Christians. And, moreover, all those men, just as their impiety was about to burst forth, offered sacrifice for the health of the emperor, and swore by his genius, some abroad, some at home, and also gave the name of public enemies to the Christians. But the companions, or favourers, of wicked factions, who are daily brought to light, a crop of parricides, survivors after the harvest, blocked up their doors with the freshest and most branching laurels, smoked their porches with the tallest and brightest lanterns, divided the forum amongst themselves with the most adorned and the proudest couches, not that they might celebrate the public joy, but that they might put forward their own vows in a solemnity distasteful to them, and might inaugurate the example and image of their hope, changing the name of the prince in their hearts.

Those pay the same kind of duty, who consult astrologers, and haruspices, and augurs, and magicians, about the life of Cæsar; which arts, as delivered by the rebel angels, and forbidden by God, the Christians never apply even to their own causes. But who has occasion to inquire about the health of Cæsar, unless the man by whom something is being planned or desired against it, or by whom something is hoped and waited for after it? For people do not inquire with the same view about those who are dear to them as about their master. The anxiety of blood is curious in a different way from that of servitude.

If we are ordered to love our enemies, whom have we to hate? Also, if, when injured, we are forbidden to repay the injury, lest we may be equal to *the injurer* by our deed, whom can we hurt? For let you yourselves take cognizance of this. For how often do you rage against the Christians partly in obedience to your own inclinations, and partly to the laws! How often even, that

I may pass you over, does not the hostile crowd of its own accord attack us with stones and with fire! With the very fury of Bacchanalians, they spare not even the dead Christians, but they drag them from the repose of the tomb, and from the asylum as it were of death, already changed, and sometimes not entire, and cut and tear them. What, notwithstanding, have you ever noticed in the way of retaliation for the injury from such determined men, from men who are so courageous unto death as are the Christians? whereas, a single night with a few little torches could work abundance of vengeance for us, if it were allowable amongst us to repay evil for evil. But, far be it from us that a divine sect[150] should be vindicated by human fire, or that it should grieve to suffer that in which it is proved. For, if we wished to play the part of open enemies, and not merely hidden avengers, would there be wanting to us a plenty of numbers and forces? The Moors, and Marcomanni, and Parthians, or any other nations, are more numerous *than we;* nevertheless they are *inhabitants*, each of their own territories and of their own boundaries, rather than of the entire world? We are of yesterday, and yet we fill all your *places*, your cities, islands, forts, municipal towns, councils, the camps themselves, the tribes, the decuria, the palace, the senate, the forum; we have left the temples alone to you. For what war should not we have been fit and ready, even if unequal in forces, who are so willingly slain, were it not that, according to this religion, it is lawful to be killed rather than to kill? Even unarmed, and not rebelling, but being merely dissentient, we might have struggled against you by the bare damage of our separation. For if we, being so great a multitude of men, were to have burst away from your rule to some remote quarter of the Earth, the loss of so many citizens of all kinds would have prostrated your rule, nay would have punished you by your very abandonment. Without doubt you would have stood aghast at your solitude, at the silence of things, and the stupor, as it were, of a dead city. You would have sought for men whom to rule. More enemies than citizens would have been left to you. For now you have fewer enemies, by reason of the multitude of Christians.

MINUTIUS FELIX. OCTAVIUS.

As man and every animal which is born, which breathes and is fed, is a voluntary aggregation of the elements, into which again man and every animal is divided, resolved, and dissipated; so all

things flow back upon the fountain, and revolve in themselves, with no maker, guide, or author. Thus the seeds of fire being assembled together, suns upon suns always shine. Thus the vapours of the earth being exhaled, clouds continually grow, which, being condensed and drawn together, the clouds rise higher; the same declining, the rains fall, the winds blow, the hail rattles; or the clouds coming into collision, the lightnings flash, the thunders bellow, and the bolts speak. Thus they fall at random, rush upon the mountains, run upon the trees, assail sacred and profane places without discrimination, they strike wicked and often religious men. Why should I speak of the various and uncertain tempests by which the movement of all things is whirled without any order or inquiry? *Why mention* in shipwrecks, the destinies of the bad and good mixed, and their merits confused? *why say* that in fires the deaths of the guilty and innocent come together? and that, when the region of the air is infected with a pestilential taint, all die without distinction? and that when men rage in the ardour of war, the good fall preferably?

For what can be so open, so admitted, so clear, when thou shalt have raised thine eyes to Heaven, and shalt have looked at all things below and around, that there is some divinity of an excelling mind by which all nature is inspired, moved, supported, governed? Look at the sky itself, how wide it is spread, how rapidly it rolls, either as it is studded with stars, or as, during the day, it is illuminated by the sun, *and* at once thou wilt know what a wondrous and divine balancing of the Supreme Moderator exists therein. Behold the year, how it makes the circuit of the sun; and see the month, when the moon drives it round, by her increase, her fulness, her wane. Why must I mention the recurring changes of darkness and light, so that we may have an alternate renewal of labour and rest? But the more lengthened speech concerning the stars is to be left to astronomers, either as to their governing the course of sailing, or how they bring on the seasons of sowing and reaping; each of which things not only required a supreme maker and a perfect reason, that they might be created, might exist and be arranged, but cannot become felt, seen, and understood, without the utmost skill and reason. What! when the order of the seasons and the fruits is distinguished by its steady variety, does it not testify their author and their parent? The spring *does so* equally with his flowers, and the summer with his harvests, and the grateful ripeness of autumn, and the necessary oil-store of winter, which order would be easily

disturbed, were not it regulated by the supreme reason. Of how great providence is it not *an argument*, lest perpetual winter should blister us with frost, or a perpetual summer parch us with heat, to introduce the mean temperature of autumn and spring, so that the passage of the year returning upon its steps, might be unobserved and innocent! Look at the sea; it is confined by the law of the shore. Look at whatever *trees* exist, how they are made to live from the bowels of the earth. Mark the ocean; it ebbs and flows with alternate tides. Look at the fountains; they flow from perpetual veins. Examine the rivers, they always move with practised flow. Why am I to speak of the fitly arranged steeps of the mountains, slopes of the hills, or stretches of the fields? or why should I speak of the manifold protection of the animals against each other, that some are armed with horns, others fenced with teeth, and bottomed upon hoofs, or bristling with quills, or free with swiftness of foot, or the raising of wings? The beauty itself of our form particularly proclaims God its maker: the upright stature, the erect countenance, the eyes situated at the top, as if on a watch tower, and all the other senses disposed as if in a citadel.

It is long to go through individual matters; there is nothing in the members of man which does not exist for necessity and ornament; and, what is more wonderful, there is the same figure in all, but certain features turned for each. Thus we all seem like each other, and amongst each other we are found dissimilar. Nor did God consult for the universe alone, but for the parts also. Thus Britain is deficient in sun, but she is refreshed by the warmth of the surrounding sea. The river Nile tempers the drought of Egypt; the Euphrates fertilizes Mesopotamia; the Indus is said both to sow and to water the East. If, having entered any house, thou wert to see all things trimmed, arranged, and adorned, thou wouldst believe that there was a master over that house, and that he himself was better than those good things of his. Thus, in this house of the world, when thou perceivest the Heavens and the Earth, with the providence, order, and law *that* regulate them, believe that there is a master and parent of the universe, more perfect than the stars and than all the parts of the world.

Nevertheless, this very superstition has given, increased, and established the empire for the Romans, seeing that they excelled not so much in valour as in piety and religion. Truly the distinguished and noble Roman justice gave its auspices *to the Romans* from the very cradle of their rising empire.[151] In its be-

ginning, did they not increase, both drawn together by guilt and protected by the terror of their cruelty? For the original people was congregated in a refuge. Thither had resorted abandoned men, men steeped in crime, incestuous, assassins, traitors. And in order that Romulus himself, their emperor and ruler, should excel his people in crime, he committed parricide. Those were the first auspices of the religious city. Afterwards, without respect, it carried off, violated, and deceived foreign virgins already betrothed, already destined for others, and some women who had been married; and then engaged in war with the parents of those women, that is, their own fathers-in-law, and shed kindred blood. What could be more irreligious? What more audacious? What could be more secure *from punishment* by the very assurance of wickedness? To expel their neighbours from their territory; to subvert adjoining states, with their temples and altars; to collect captives; to grow upon the losses of others and their own wickedness, was a rule of practice common to Romulus with the other kings and with the last leaders. Thus, whatever the Romans hold, cultivate, possess, is the prey of their audacity. All their temples come from the spoils of war, that is, from the ruins of cities, the plunder of the gods, and the slaughter of the priests. This is insult and mockery, to serve the conquered religions, and to adore them taken captive after your victories. For, the adoring what thou hast taken with thy hand, is to consecrate sacrilege, not divinities. As often, therefore, as the Romans have triumphed, so often have they been impious; as many as are their trophies over the nations, so many are their spoils from the gods. Therefore the Romans are not so great because they have been religious, but because they have been sacrilegious with impunity. For in those very wars they could not have those gods their aiders, against those whom they had taken arms: and those whom they ravaged, when, triumphed over, they began to worship. But what can those gods do for the Romans, who were of no avail for their own servants against the arms of the Romans?

But we neither show, nor do we see, the God whom we worship. Nay, more, we believe Him to be God from the fact that we can feel, but cannot see Him. For in His works and in all the monuments of the world, we behold His virtue ever present,—when it thunders, when it lightens, when the bolt falls, when the sky is calm. Nor shouldst thou wonder if thou dost not see God: all things are impelled, are vibrated, are agitated by the wind and its blasts, and nevertheless the wind

and its blasts do not come under the eyes. In the sun, which is the cause of seeing for all, we cannot see; our eye must be withdrawn from his rays; the gaze of the man that looks upon him is dulled; and if thou look too long, all sight is extinguished. What then? Mightest thou endure the Creator Himself of the sun, that fountain of light, when thou turnest thyself from His lightnings and hidest from His thunderbolts? Dost thou wish to see God with thy fleshly eyes, when thou canst not see nor hold thy own soul, by which thou art animated and speakest? But God, it will be said, knows not the act of man, and, settled in Heaven, cannot either go to all or know each one. Thou dost err, O man! and art deceived. For whence can God be said to be far off, when all Heavenly and Earthly things, and those which are beyond the province of this orb, are fully known to God? Everywhere He is not only beside us, but infused into us. Therefore, again look upon the sun; he is fixed in the skies, but he is scattered over all the Earth; being everywhere equally present, he is conversant with and mixed up with all things, for his brightness is never violated. How much more so is not God, the Author of all things, and the Observer of all things, from whom nothing can be secret,—present to the darkness, present to our thoughts, which are, as it were, another kind of darkness! Not only do we move under Him, but, as I had almost said, we even live with Him.

That, for the greater part, we are called poor, is not our infamy, but our glory. For, as the mind is relaxed by luxury, so it is strengthened by frugality. And still, who can be poor who is not in want—who does not strain after what belongs to another—who is rich in God? He, rather, is poor, who, though he have much, desires more. However, I shall speak as I feel: no one can be as poor as he was born. The birds live without a patrimony, and feed upon their pastures every day; and nevertheless those things are born to us, all which we possess, if we do not covet more. Therefore, as he who treads a path is so much the happier as he walks lighter, so is he more blessed in this journey of life, who raises himself up by poverty, and does not sigh under the load of riches. And, nevertheless, if we thought riches useful, we should ask them from God. He, indeed, to whom everything belongs, could indulge us with a portion; but we prefer to despise riches rather than to hold them; we rather desire innocence; we rather solicit patience; we prefer that we should be good rather than lavish. And with regard to our feeling and suffering the human vices of the body, that is not a

punishment but a warfare. For fortitude is strengthened by infirmities, and calamity is generally the discipline of virtue. In fine, the strength of mind and of body grows dull without exercise. In fact all your great men, whom you quote as an example, flourished by their sufferings. Thus, neither can God not come to our assistance, nor does He despise us—since He is the ruler and lover of all His own; but, exploring and examining each one in adversity, He estimates the character of each one by dangers, until the final moment of death; He inquires into the will of man, certain that nothing can perish to him. Then, as gold is tried by the fire, so are we by dangers.

What a beautiful spectacle for God when the Christian encounters sorrow!—when he is composed against threats, and punishments, and tortures!—when, mocking, he insults the sound of death and the horror of the executioner!—when he erects his freedom against kings and emperors! He yields to the God alone to whom he belongs, when, triumphant and victorious, he insults him who has pronounced sentence against him. For he conquers who has obtained what he has contended for. What soldier does not provoke danger more boldly under the eye of his general? For no one receives the reward before the trial; and, nevertheless, the general does not give what he has not; he cannot prolong life: he can make warfare honourable. But the soldier of God is neither abandoned in suffering nor put an end to in death. Thus the Christian may appear miserable; he cannot be found so. You yourselves exalt to Heaven calamitous men, such as Mucius Scævola, who, after having missed the king, would have perished amongst the enemies, had he not lost his right hand. And how many from amongst our men have endured, without lamentation, not only that their right hand, but that their entire body, should be burned, should be consumed, especially when they had it in their power to be sent away! I am now comparing men with Mucius, or with Aquilius, or with Regulus, whereas our boys and our women, with an endurance of pain breathed into them *from above*, mock at crosses and torments, and wild beasts and all the terrors of punishment. Nor do you understand, O wretched men, that there is no one who either, without a reason, wishes to undergo penalties, or who can endure torments, without *the aid* of the Lord; unless, perhaps, it deceive you, that those who know not the Lord, abound in riches, flourish with honours, are mighty with power. Unhappy men! in this matter they are raised the higher, that they may fall more deeply. For these, as victims,

are fatted for punishment; as sacrifices, they are crowned for suffering. In this respect, some are exalted by position of command and rule, that their abandoned minds, by the license of power, may openly set up their talents for sale. For, without the knowledge of God, what solid happiness can there be? When death takes place, like to a dream, it slips away before it is laid hold upon. Art thou a king? Still thou fearest as much as thou art feared; and, although thou art guarded by a large escort, still against danger thou art alone. Art thou rich? Still there is a belief in bad fortune, and the short way of life is not furnished, but is only burthened by too great a provision. Dost thou glory in fasces and in the purple? It is a vain error of man, and an empty worship of dignity, to shine in purple and be sordid in mind. Art thou generous by nobility of race? Dost thou boast of thy parents? Nevertheless we are all born out of the same level; we are distinguished by merit alone.

SAINT CYPRIAN.

CYPRIAN TO THE MARTYRS AND CONFESSORS IN CHRIST.

Cyprian to the martyrs and confessors in Christ our Lord and in God the Father, hope and health. Joyful, I exult and congratulate you, most brave and blessed brethren, your faith and virtue being known, in which our mother the Church glories. She has also lately gloried, indeed, when with steadfast confession that punishment has been undergone which makes the confessors of Christ exiles. Nevertheless, the present confession, by as much as it is stronger in suffering, by so much is brighter and greater in honour. The fight has increased, the glory of those who fight has also increased. Nor are you kept back from the conflict by the fear of torments, but you are more and more urged to the fight by the very torments; you have returned strong and steadfast with ready devotion to the battle of the greatest conflict. From amongst whom, I have learned that some have been already crowned, that some indeed are on the very verge of being crowned, but that all whom the dungeon has included in the glorious band are animated with an equal and like ardour of virtue for carrying on the conflict, as it is right that the soldiers of Christ should be in the divine camp, so that neither blandishments may deceive the incorrupt firmness of faith, nor threats may terrify, nor tortures

and torments overcome it, because He who is in us is greater than he who is in this world; nor can Earthly punishment be more powerful for striking us down than is the divine protection for raising us up. The thing has been proved in the glorious conflict of the brethren, who having been made the leaders of the others for overcoming tortures, have afforded an example of virtue and faith, having fought in the battle, until the battle fell down conquered. With what praises shall I glorify you, O bravest brethren! With what panegyric of the voice shall I adorn the strength of your breasts, the perseverance of your faith! You have endured until the consummation of your glory the severest question,[152] nor have you yielded to punishment, but punishment has rather yielded to you. Your crowns have given to your sufferings the end which your torments did not give. The severe question lasted so long, to the end not that it should prostrate your standing faith, but that it should send the men of God more quickly to the Lord. The admiring multitude of those present saw the Heavenly conflict, the conflict of God, the spiritual conflict, the battle of Christ, that His servants stood with a free spirit, with an incorrupt mind, with a divine virtue, destitute, indeed, of Earthly weapons, but believers armed with the arms of faith. The tortured stood stronger than the torturers, and the stricken and lacerated members overcame the strikers and lacerators. The long raging repeated stroke could not overcome the impregnable faith, although the enclosure of the bowels being broken, it was not so much members as wounds that were tortured in the servants of God. That blood was flowing which would extinguish the conflagration of persecution, which would quench the flames and fires of Hell with glorious gore. Oh! what a spectacle was not that for the Lord! how sublime, how great, how acceptable to the eyes of God by the oath and the devotion of His soldiers, as it is written in the Psalms by the Spirit of God, at once speaking to us and admonishing us: "*Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints*". Precious is this death which has bought immortality at the price of its blood, which has received the crown by the consummation of virtue. How joyful was not Christ there; how willingly in such servants of His name did He not fight and conquer as the protector of faith, and giving to the believers so much as he who takes believes that he receives. He was present at His own conflict; He raised up, strengthened, inspirited His warriors and the assertors of His name. The present battle afforded an instance of the thing. A saying, full of the Holy Ghost, broke forth from

the mouth of the martyr, when the most blessed Mapalicus, in the midst of his tortures, said to the Proconsul: "*To-morrow thou shalt see the struggle*".

Nor did the faithful voice deceive in its promise. He exhibited the fight which he announced, and he received the palm which he deserved. I desire alike, and exhort that the rest of you also, soldiers and steadfast comrades in the faith, patient in suffering, victorious in the question, may follow this most blessed martyr, and the others, the partners of the same encounter, in order that the consummation of virtue and the Heavenly crown may unite those whom the bond of the confession and the hospitality of the dungeon have united together, in order that you may wipe away the tears of our mother the Church, which bewails the ruin and the deaths of many, and may strengthen the firmness of others who yet stand, by the excitement of your example. If the action shall have summoned you, if the day of your conflict shall have come, serve bravely, fight perseveringly, knowing that you fight under the eye of your Lord, who is present, and that by the confession of His name you come to His glory—*to the glory of that God* who is not such that He merely looks at His servants, but He Himself struggles in us, He Himself goes to the encounter, He Himself both crowns and is crowned in the conflict of our struggle. But if, before the day of your conflict, peace should have come through the indulgence of the Lord, nevertheless may your perfect will and glorious consciousness remain to you. Nor let any one of you be sad, on the ground that he is less than those who, before you having suffered torments, have come by the glorious journey to the Lord, the world being conquered and trodden down. The Lord is the searcher of the reins and heart, He sees the secret things, and looks into things hidden. The testimony of Him alone, who is to guide, is sufficient for earning the crown from Him. Therefore, each thing, O dearest brethren, is equally sublime and illustrious. The former, *namely*, to hasten to the Lord by the consummation of victory, is the more secure; the latter is more joyful, to flourish by praise in the Church, having received a furlough after the gaining of glory. O blessed Church of ours, which the honour of divine condescension thus illumines, which in our own times the glorious blood of martyrs thus makes illustrious. Before it was white in the works of the brethren, now it is made purple in the blood of martyrs. Neither lilies nor roses are wanting to its flowers. Let all now contend for the most ample dignity of both honours. Let them receive crowns, either white from their works, or purple from

their martyrdom. In the Heavenly camp peace and war have their *respective* flowers, by which the soldier of Christ is crowned for glory. I pray, bravest and most blessed brethren, that you be always well in the Lord, and mindful of us. Farewell.

CYPRIAN TO POPE CORNELIUS.

O DEAREST brother, if thou could be present here amongst us when those depraved and perverse men return from schism, thou wouldst see what labour I have to persuade patience to our brethren, that, the grief of their minds being appeased, they may consent to receive and cure the bad. For as they rejoice and are glad when the endurable and less guilty return, so they are indignant, and struggle whenever the incurable and petulant, and those contaminated either with adulteries or sacrifices, and, in addition to this, proud, return to the Church in such a way that they corrupt the good dispositions within her. I hardly persuade the people, I even extort it from them, that such be suffered to be admitted. And the grief of the brotherhood is made more reasonable, from the fact that one or two, admitted by my weakness while the people struggled and contradicted, turned out worse than they had been before, and could not keep the faith of penitence because they had not come with true penitence. But what shall I say concerning those who have now sailed to thee along with Felicissimus, who is guilty of all crimes, sent as legates by Fortunatus, the pseudo-bishop, bearing to thee letters as false as he is false whose letters they carry, as his consciousness of sin is manifold, as his life is execrable and base,—*men* such, that, if they were in the Church already, they ought to be expelled from it? Finally, because they know their conscious guilt, neither do they venture to approach us or come to the threshold of the Church, but they wander abroad throughout the province for the purpose of circumventing brethren and despoiling them of *their innocence;* and, being already sufficiently known to all *here*, and everywhere excluded for their wickedness, they sail over to you. For neither can they have the forehead to approach us or to stand before us when the most bitter and weighty accusations are heaped upon them by the brethren. If they wish to undergo our judgment, let them come. Finally, if they can have any excuse or defence, let us see what meaning they have for their satisfaction,—what fruits of penance they bring. Neither is the Church shut here,

nor is the bishop denied to any one. Our patience, and facility, and kindness, are ready for every one. I desire that all should return to the Church; I desire that all our fellow-soldiers should be included within the camp of Christ and the dwelling of God the Father. I forgive all things, I dissemble many things, through the zeal and desire of collecting the brotherhood *together*. Even the offences which are committed against God, I do not examine with the rigorous judgment of religion. By forgiving more offences than I should, I almost myself offend. I embrace with a ready and full love those who return with repentance, confessing their sin with humble and simple satisfaction. But if there be any who think they can return to the Church, not with prayers but with threats, or think that they can make an approach for themselves, not by lamentation and satisfaction, but by terror, they may hold for certain that the Church of the Lord stands closed against such, and that the camp of Christ, unconquered and strong, fortified by the Lord who guards it, does not yield to threats. The priest of God, holding the gospel and keeping the commands of Christ, may be killed,—he cannot be conquered. Zachary, the priest of God, suggests and supplies to us examples of virtue and faith: he who, when he could not be terrified by threats and stoning, was killed, crying out, and likewise saying what we also say against the heretics: "These things saith the Lord: Ye have left the ways of the Lord, and the Lord will leave you". For neither is it because a few rash and wicked men have abandoned the Heavenly and saving ways of the Lord, and not doing holy things are abandoned by the Holy Ghost, that we therefore should be unmindful of the divine tradition so as to consider the crimes of madmen to be of greater weight than the opinion of priests, or are we to believe that human efforts have more power to assail, than the divine guardianship has to protect? Is it for this purpose, O dearest brother, that the dignity of the Catholic Church is to be laid aside, and the faithful and incorrupt majesty of the people within, and also the sacerdotal authority and power, that those who are outside the Church, are to say that they wish to judge concerning the purpose of the Church,—heretics concerning a Christian, the maimed concerning the sound, the wounded concerning the whole, those who have fallen concerning him who stands, the guilty concerning the judge, the sacrilegious concerning a priest? What remains but that the Church yield to the Capitol, and that while the priests, retreat, and remove the altar of God, the statues and idols, with their altars, pass into the sacred and venerable assembly of our clergy, and larger and fuller matter for de-

claiming against us and upbraiding us, be given to Novatian, if those who have sacrificed and have publicly denied Christ, are not only solicited and admitted without having done penance, but over and above, in addition to this, have begun to rule by the terror of their power? If they ask peace, let them lay down their arms. If they make satisfaction, why do they threaten? or, if they do threaten, let them know that they are not feared by the priests of God. For, neither will the Antichrist enter into the Church, when he will begin to come, because he threatens; nor does *the Church* yield to his arms and violence, because he affirms that he will kill those who resist him. The heretics arm us when they think that we are terrified by their threats, nor in peace do they strike us down, but rather raise us up and enkindle us, while they render peace itself worse for the brethren than persecution. And we desire, indeed, that what they speak in rage they may not fulfil in crime, lest those who sin by perfidious and cruel words may also sin in act. We pray and supplicate God, whom they do not cease to provoke and to exasperate, that their hearts may soften, that, having laid aside their madness, they may return to soundness of mind, so that their breasts, covered with the darkness of crimes, may acknowledge the light of penance, and that they may rather seek that the prayers and public supplications of the bishop may be poured out for them, than that they themselves may shed the blood of the priest. But if they persevere in their madness, and in those their parricidal snares and threats, there is no priest of God so inferior, so prostrate and abject, so weak by the imbecility of human mediocrity, who must not be raised against the enemies and assailants of God, whose humility and infirmity must not be animated by the vigour and strength of the Lord. It is no concern of ours by whom we may be killed, destined as we are to receive the reward of our blood and of our death from the Lord.

III. *Concerning the Lapsed.*

Behold, most beloved brethren, peace is restored to the Church, and (what lately appeared difficult to the incredulous, and impossible to the perfidious) our safety has been renewed by the divine aid and vengeance. Our minds return to joy, and the tempest and cloud of pressure being dispelled, tranquillity and

serenity have shone again. Praises are to be given to God, and His benefits and gifts are to be celebrated with thanksgiving, although neither during the persecution did our voice cease to give thanks to God. For neither can so much be allowed to the enemy, that we, who love the Lord with our whole heart, and soul, and strength, should not always and everywhere exalt His blessings and praises with glory. The day longed for in the desires of all has come; and, after the horrible and black mist of the long night, the world has shone irradiated by the light of the Lord. We contemplate with joyous countenances the confessors, illustrious and glorious with the encomium of a good name; clinging to their holy kisses, we embrace with insatiate eagerness those so long yearned after. The white-robed cohort of the soldiers of Christ is present, who, with steady encounter, broke the turbulent ferocity of the pressing persecution prepared for patience of the dungeon, armed for endurance of death. You have bravely fought against the world, you have exhibited a glorious spectacle to God, you have been an example to brethren who are to follow. The religious voice has spoken Christ, in whom it has once confessed what it believed. The illustrious hands that have not been used to any save divine works have resisted sacrilegious sacrifices. The mouths which have been sanctified by the Heavenly meats of the body and blood of the Lord, have rejected the profane contagion and leavings of idols. Your head has remained free from the impious and wicked veil with which the captive heads of the sacrificers were veiled there. The forehead pure with the sign of God could not bear the crown of the Devil, but reserved itself for the crown of the Lord. How joyfully did not our Mother the Church receive you in her bosom returning from battle? How blessed, how rejoicing, did she not open her doors, that you might enter with united hands, bearing your trophies from the prostrated enemy? With the triumphing men come women also, who, fighting with the world, have overcome also their sex. There come also virgins with a doubled glory of their warfare, and boys surpassing their years by the virtues of their continence. Also the remaining multitude of those who stand follows your glory, and accompanies your steps, with neighbouring and almost united standards of praise. In those also there is the same sincerity of heart, the same integrity of tenacious faith. Neither the exile denounced *against them*, nor the destined torments, nor the loss of property, nor the punishment of their bodies terrified them, leaning upon the unshaken roots of the Heavenly commands, and strengthened by the gospel traditions.

One sorrow saddens those Heavenly crowns of the martyrs, those spiritual glories of the confessors, those greatest and excelling virtues of the brethren who stand—namely, that the violent enemy, by the slaughter of his ravaging, has flung to earth a portion of our bowels torn from us. What shall I do in this place, most dearly beloved brethren? Fluctuating with a various tide of mind, what shall I say, or how shall I say it? I require tears rather than words for expressing the grief by which the wound of our body is to be bewailed, by which the loss of a people once numerous is to be lamented. For who is so hard, so iron, who so forgetful of brotherly charity, who, standing amid the many-shaped ruins of his friends, and their relics sad and disfigured which much squalor, is able to keep dry eyes, and who, his weeping immediately bursting forth, does not draw forth his groans with his tears, before doing so with his voice? I grieve, my brethren, I grieve with you, nor does my own wholeness and individual soundness flatter me for the alleviation of my grief, since the pastor is wounded more in the wound of his flock. I couple my own breast with every breast; I share the grievous weight of their sorrow and death; I lament with the lamenting; I weep with the weeping; I believe that I am prostrate with the prostrate. My members have also been struck by the darts of that lurking enemy, the raging swords have passed through my bowels. My soul could not have been safe and free from the attack of persecution. My love has prostrated me in my prostrate brethren.

Immediately after the very first words of the threatening enemy, the greatest number of the brethren betrayed its faith, and was not prostrated by the assault of the persecution, but prostrated itself by a voluntary fall. What unheard-of thing, I ask, was this? What new thing was it, that, as if the things coming to pass were unknown and unexpected, the allegiance of Christ should be broken by headlong rashness? Did not the prophets previously and the apostles afterwards, announce those things? Full of the Holy Ghost, did they not always foretel the straits of the just and the injuries of the Gentiles? Does not the divine Scripture, ever arming our faith and strengthening the servants of God with its Heavenly voice, say: "Thou shalt adore the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve"? Pointing out the wrath of divine indignation, and forewarning us of the fear of punishment, does it not finally say: "They have adored the work of their own hands, which their own fingers have made, and man hath bowed himself down, and man hath been humbled,

and I will not forgive them"; and again God speaks, saying: "He that sacrificeth to gods shall be put to death, save only to the Lord". In the Gospel also, the Lord, that leader in words and consummator in deeds, teaching what should be done, and doing whatever He had taught, did He not foretel what is now doing and shall be done?

Did He not previously appoint eternal punishments to those who deny Him, and salutary rewards to those who confess Him? All these things, O impiety! have dropped away from some, and gone from their memory. They did not wait at least until having been taken they should go up to the tribunal, that having been questioned they might deny. Many were conquered before the battle, they were prostrated before the encounter, nor did they leave this to themselves that they might appear to sacrifice unwillingly to the idol. They ran to the forum, they hastened of their own accord to the death of the *soul*, as if they had long desired this, as if they embraced the opportunity now given, but which they had always desired. How many, as evening was now at hand, were put off by the magistrates; how many were there who asked again that their destruction should not be delayed! What violence can such a man allege by which he may excuse his crime, when he has rather done violence to himself that he might perish? And when they had freely come to the Capitol—when of their own accord they had approached to the performance of this direful crime, did their steps totter, was their aspect clouded, did their bowels tremble, did their arms drop, were their senses stupefied, did their tongues cleave, did their speech fail? Could the servant of God, who had renounced the Devil and the world, stand there and renounce Christ? Was not the altar, to which, about to die, he ascended, his funeral pile? Should he not have abhorred and fled from that altar of the Devil, which he saw smoking and redolent with a black stench, as the death and the tomb of his life? What sacrifice, O wretched man! what victim dost thou bring with thee? Thou thyself hast come, the sacrifice, thou the victim to the altar. Thou hast immolated there thy salvation. Thou hast burned thy hope and thy faith in those fatal fires. And to many their own death was not enough. The people was impelled to destruction by mutual encouragements. Death was poured out by each one to the other from the deadly cup. And lest anything should be wanting to the completion of crime, little infants also, either laid *upon the altars* or dragged to them by the hands of their parents, lost that which in the very beginning of their birth they had obtained. Will not

they say when the day of judgment will come: "We have done no harm, we have not hastened of our own accord to profane contagion, having left the food and the cup of the Lord: the perfidy of others destroyed us, we have experienced parricidal parents. They denied to us the Church our mother, they denied us God our Father, that while being little, and unforeseeing, and ignorant of such a crime, we are united through the means of others to the companionship of crimes, we might be caught by the deceit of others"?

In proportion as we have offended greatly, so let us weep grievously. Let not diligent and long care be wanting to a deep wound. Let not the penance be less than the crime. Dost thou think that the Lord can be quickly appeased whom thou hast denied with perfidious words, to whom thou hast chosen to prefer thy patrimony, whose temple thou hast violated with sacrilegious contagion? Dost thou think that He will easily have mercy on thee, who, thou hast said, was not thine? It is necessary for thee to pray and beg with eagerness, to spend nights in watching and tears, to fill the entire time with tearful lamentations, to cling stretched to the ground, to grovel in ashes, and sackcloth, and filth; after *having lost* the garment of Christ, to wish for no other garb; after the food of the Devil, to prefer fasting; to devote thyself to good works, by which thy sins may be purged; to persevere frequently in alms, by which souls are freed from death. What the adversary has taken away let Christ receive. That patrimony ought neither to be kept nor loved by which any one has been deceived and conquered. Property is to be avoided as an enemy, to be fled as a robber, to be feared like a sword and like poison, by those who possess it. Let what has remained be applicable for this purpose only, that thereby the crime and the fault may be redeemed. Let the good work be done largely and without delay, let thy entire income be applied to the cure of thy wound, from our works and resources let us lend at interest to the Lord, who is to judge concerning us. Thus did faith flourish under the apostles. Thus did the first people of the believers keep the commands of Christ. They were ready, they were lavish, they gave all to be distributed by the apostles, and yet they had not to expiate such crimes as those. If any one make his prayer with his whole heart, if he groan with true lamentations and tears of penance, if he bend the Lord to pardon of his crime by just and constant works, He may have mercy upon such, He who put forward His mercy, saying, "When turned, thou shalt groan, then thou shalt be saved, and shalt know where thou art". And again,

"I desire not the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord, so much as that he be converted and live". And the prophet Joel, the Lord Himself commanding him, declares the piety of the Lord: "Return", he says, "to the Lord your God, for He is gracious and merciful, patient and rich in mercy, and who will bend His judgment against the evils which had been ordained by Him". He can in His clemency forgive the man who is penitent, who works, who prays; He can consider as received *in satisfaction* whatever the martyrs may have prayed and the priests may have done for such as those. Or if any one shall have moved Him still more by His satisfaction, if by proper supplication he shall have appeased His wrath and the displeasure of an indignant God, He again gives arms by which he who had been conquered may be armed; he repairs and fortifies the strength by which the renewed faith may be refreshed. The soldier will resume His conflict, will enter the battle, will provoke the enemies, having indeed been made brave by his suffering. He who shall have thus made satisfaction to God, and by repentance of his deed and shame for his crime shall have conceived more virtue and faith from the very grief of his fall, being listened to and helped by God, will make joyful the Church which he had lately saddened, nor shall he now only deserve pardon from God but a crown.

Concerning the Pestilence.

Let us rather, most beloved brethren, with a whole mind, with a firm faith, with a strong virtue, be prepared for every will of God; the fear of death being shut out, let us show ourselves to be that which we believe, that we may neither grieve over the departure of those who are dear to us, and when the day of our own call shall have come, may without delay and willingly come to the Lord, He Himself calling us. Which, as it was always to be done by the servants of the Lord, it ought now much more to be done, the world falling away to ruin, and being beset by whirlwinds of evils which infest it; so that we who know grievous things to have begun, and that still more grievous things are at hand, should reckon it as our greatest gain, if we can retire hence as soon as possible. If in thy dwelling the walls were breaking with age, if the roof above were trembling, if the house, already wearied, already worn out, its buildings, now sinking from old age, were to threaten immediate ruin, wouldst thou not go from it with

all possible speed? If, while thou wert sailing, the turbid and stormy tempest having violently excited the waves, should foretel a shipwreck about to happen, wouldst thou not quickly make for the port? Behold, the world is shaking and falling, and testifies its ruin, not by its old age but by its very end, and dost thou not return thanks to God, dost thou not congratulate thyself, because, taken away, by an earlier departure, thou dost escape the imminent ruin, and shipwreck, and scourges? It is to be considered, most beloved brethren, and from time to time to be reflected upon, that we have renounced the world, and that we live here in the mean time merely as guests and travellers. We embrace the day that assigns each one to his dwelling, which restores us snatched from hence, and relieved from the chains of the world, to Paradise and to the Heavenly Kingdom. Who is there that, established abroad, would not hasten to return to his country? Who, hastening to sail to his own friends, would not eagerly desire a prosperous wind, that so he might quickly be enabled to embrace the dear ones? Let us reckon Paradise as our country. We have already begun to have the patriarchs as our parents. Why do we not hasten and run that we may be able to see our country, to salute our parents? A great number of dear ones awaits us there; a full and plenteous crowd of parents, brethren, and children, secure of its own safety, but anxious for our salvation, longs for us. How much joy is it not to them, and to us in common, that we should come into Thy sight and embrace! What a pleasure of the Heavenly Kingdom is not there, without the fear of dying and with an eternity of living! What a supreme and perpetual happiness! There, is the glorious choir of the apostles; there, the number of exulting prophets; there, the innumerable population of martyrs crowned on account of the contest and of the suffering; there, the triumphant virgins, who have subdued the concupiscence of the flesh and of the body by the strength of continence; there are the merciful rewarded, who, by food and gifts to the poor, have done the works of justice, who, observing the commandments of the Lord, have transferred their Earthly patrimonies to Heavenly treasures. To these, O most beloved brethren, let us hasten with eager desire; let us wish that it may soon be our lot to be with those, to come soon to Christ. Let God see this thought of ours; let the Lord Christ behold this purpose of our mind and of our faith; He who will give more ample rewards of His glory to those whose desires towards Him shall have been greater.

LACTANTIUS.

Concerning the Cruelty of the Gentiles towards the Christians.

Because therefore justice is grievous and bitter to those men who correspond with the morals of their deities, they violently practise against the just the same impiety which they use in other things. Therefore, Marcus Tullius beautifully: "For, if there be no one", he says, "who does not prefer to die rather than to be changed into any shape of a beast, although he be to have the mind of man, how much more miserable is it not to have the savage mind under the form of man? To me it seems so much the more so, as the mind is more excellent than the body". Therefore the bodies of wild beasts are despised, than which wild beasts they themselves (*the men*) are more cruel, and they are pleasing to themselves because they are born men, of whom they carry nothing more than the lineaments and the external figure. For what Caucasus, what India, what Hircania ever reared such monsters, such sanguinary beasts? Since the wildness of all beasts rages unto the filling of the belly, and their hunger being appeased, at once rests; but that is a real beast at whose single command "black gore is everywhere shed, everywhere is grief, everywhere terror, and the multiplied image of death". No one can adequately describe the cruelty of this so *terrible* beast, which, lying in one place, nevertheless rages throughout the entire world with its iron teeth, and not only scatters the limbs of men, but powders their bones, and rages against their ashes, lest they have any place for burial; as if, indeed, they who confess God are anxious for this, that men should come to their sepulchres, and not that they themselves should go to God.

What fierceness, what rage, what madness, is it not to deny light to the living, and the earth to the dead! I say, therefore, that nothing is more miserable than those men whom necessity has either found, or has made, the ministers of the fury of another, the satellites of an impious command. For this was not an honour or an advancement of dignity, but the condemnation of man to the perpetration of butchery and the sentence of God to eternal punishment. But it is impossible to tell what they have each one done throughout the entire world. For what number of volumes could contain such infinite, such various kinds of cruelty? For, having received power thereto, each one was cruel according to his character. Some through excessive timidity ventured to do

more than was ordered; others acted against the just according to their own hatred; some by a natural fierceness of disposition; some that they might please, and by this performance might secure their way to higher offices; some were headlong for slaughter, as one in Phrygia, who burned an entire population, with their place of assembly. But in proportion as this man is more fierce, in the like proportion is he found to be more clement. But this is the worst description *of persecutor*, for whom a false appearance of clemency flatters; he is the more severe, he is the more furious executioner, who has determined to kill no one. Therefore, it cannot be told how many and what grievous torments judges of this kind have devised, that they might arrive at the effect of their purpose.

But they do those things, not so much that they may be able to boast that they have killed none of the innocent (for I, myself, have heard some of them boasting that their administration, in this particular, has been bloodless); but for the sake of *escaping* odium, lest either they themselves be conquered, or they (the martyrs) may obtain the glory of their virtue. Therefore, in devising kinds of punishments, they think of nothing else than victory. For they know that this is a conflict and a fight. I have seen in Bithynia a certain president elated wonderfully with joy, as if he had subdued some nation of the barbarians, because one man who had resisted for two years with great virtue, at length appeared to yield. They, therefore, struggle that they may conquer, and they apply exquisite tortures to the body, and they avoid nothing else than that those who are tortured should die. As if, indeed, death only makes us blessed, and not torments, which, in proportion as they are more grievous, produce a greater glory of virtue. But they, with pertinacious folly, order that care should be diligently applied to the tortured men, that their members may be renewed for other tortures, and that a new blood may be refreshed for punishment. What can be done, so pious, so beneficent, so humane? They would not have tended so anxiously those whom they loved. This is the discipline of the gods. They educate their worshippers to those works; they desire those rites. For their sacrilegious constitutions and the unjust disputations of their jurists are read. Domitius, in the seventh book concerning the office of the proconsul, collects the nefarious rescripts of the Emperors, that he might teach by what penalties they should be dealt with, who should confess themselves worshippers of God.



Concerning the Increase and Punishment of the Christians.

BOOK V., CHAP. XIII.

But when our number was always being increased from the worshippers of the gods, and is never diminished even in the very persecution (since men may sin and be contaminated by sacrifice, but cannot be turned away from God, for truth prevails by her own force), who is there so foolish and so blind who does not see in what part wisdom is? But they are blinded by malice and fury, so that they do not see; and they believe that those are foolish, who, when they have it in their power to escape punishments, nevertheless prefer to be tortured and to die, although they might clearly see, from this very thing, that that was not folly to which so many thousands of men throughout the world agree with one and equal mind. For, if women labour under the weakness of the sex (for those enemies of ours sometimes call the Christian religion a womanish or old-wife's superstition), the men certainly know what is right. If boys and youths are imprudent by reason of their age, the adults and old men at least have a steady judgment. If one state be foolish, the other innumerable states cannot be foolish. If one province, or one nation, be wanting in prudence, it is necessary that all the others should have the understanding of what is right. But whereas, from the rising to the setting of the sun, the divine law has been received, and every sex, every age, and race, and country, serve God with one and similar mind, whereas the same patience, the same contempt of death prevails, they ought to have understood that there is some reason in that matter which is not defended even unto death without cause—that there must be some foundation and solidity which not only relieves that religion from injustice and vexation, but even increases and makes it stronger. For in that also the malice of those is proved, who think that if they have polluted a man, they have completely uprooted the religion, since it is allowed to make satisfaction to God, and there is no one so bad a worshipper of God but that, upon an opportunity being given for appeasing God, he returns, and indeed with greater devotion. For the consciousness of his sin and the fear of punishment make him more religious.

If, therefore, they themselves, when they think that the gods are angry against them, nevertheless believe that they may be appeased by gifts and sacrifices and odours, what reason is there why they should think our God to be so merciless, so implacable, that it should appear that he, who under compulsion and un-

willingness has once sacrificed to the gods, can no longer be a Christian?. Unless they think that those who have been once contaminated will transfer their affection *to the false gods*, so that they may begin to do of their own accord what they have done through torments. Who willingly performs that function which he has undertaken from injury? Who, when he sees the scars upon his sides, will not hate the gods on account of whom he must carry the eternal marks of punishment, and their tokens stamped upon his entrails? Hence it comes, that peace being given from above, those who had been turned aside return, and a new population comes to us on account of the miracle of virtue. For when the crowd sees that men are torn by various kinds of torments, and that they hold an unconquered patience amongst the wearied torturers, the people think, as is the fact, that neither the agreement of so many, nor the perseverance of the dying, is vain, and that patience itself cannot support such great tortures without *the aid of* God. Robbers and able-bodied men cannot endure lacerations of that kind; they cry out and they utter groans, for they are conquered by pain because an inspired patience is wanting to them. But (that I may be silent as to the men), our boys and women silently overcome their torturers, nor is even fire able to force a groan from them. Let the Romans go and glory in Mutius or Regulus, of whom the one delivered himself to the enemies to be killed, because he was ashamed to live as a captive; the other, taken by the enemy, when he saw that he could not live, thrust his hand into the fire, in order that he might make satisfaction for his crime to the enemy whom he had wished to kill, and by that means he obtained the pardon which he had not deserved. Behold the weak sex and frail age suffers itself to be torn and burned over the entire body, not by necessity, because it can be avoided if they please, but by will, because they trust in God.

BOOK V., CHAP. XX.

LET the pontifices, whether lesser or greater, the flamens, the augurs, also the kings of the sacrifices, and whatever priests and chief priests of the *heathen* rites there may be, come forward. Let them summon us to a meeting; let them exhort us to receive the worship of the gods; let them persuade us that there are many by whose divinity and providence all things are governed; let them

show the origin and the beginning of these rites and of these gods, or what way those matters have been delivered to mortals; let let them explain what is the source, what the reason of the thing; let them bring forward what reward abides in their worship, what penalty in the contempt of them; wherefore they wish to be worshipped by men; and, since they are happy, what *benefit* human piety confers upon them. All which things let them confirm, not by their own assertion (for neither does the authority of a mortal man avail anything), but by some divine testimonies, as we do. There is no occasion for violence or injury, because religion cannot be forced, the business must be carried on by words, not by blows, in order that there may be a willingness. Let them unsheathe the edge of their genius: if their reason be true, let it be brought forward. We are prepared to hear, if they teach; certainly we do not believe anything from those who are silent: as neither do we yield to those who treat us cruelly. Let them imitate us, and explain the system of the entire thing. For we do not entice as they object to us; we teach, and we prove, we show. Therefore no one is kept by us against his will, for he is useless to God who is destitute of faith and devotion. And still no one departs, the truth itself retaining him. Let those teach in this manner; if they have any confidence in the truth of *what they* hold, let them speak; let them open their mouths; let them venture, I say, to argue any matter of this kind with us; truly their error and folly will be ridiculed by the very old women whom they despise, and by our boys. For whereas the *priests* are highly informed, and know from books the progeny of the gods, and their actions, and rule, and deaths, and tombs, and are aware that the very rites in which they are initiated have sprung from the actions of men, or from their misfortunes, or even from their morals; it is incredible madness to call those gods whom they do not venture to deny to have been mortals: or if they be so impudent as to deny it, their own writings, and those of their fellows refute them; finally, the very beginning of the rites convicts them *of falsehood*. Let them know, therefore, from this very fact, how great is the difference between truth and falsehood, when they themselves, eloquent though they be, cannot persuade, while the unlearned and rude can persuade, because the fact itself and truth speaks.

Why, therefore, do they persecute? In order that they may increase their folly while they wish to lessen it. Butchery and piety are very different, nor can truth be joined with force, or justice with cruelty. But with reason they do not venture to

teach anything concerning divine matters, lest they be mocked by our brethren and deserted by their own. For the bulk of the people which has a simple and incorrupt judgment, if it hear that those mysteries have been established in commemoration of dead men, will condemn them, and will seek another truer mystery which it may worship. Hence is there faithful silence *observed concerning* the rites. They have been established by cunning men, that the people may not know what it worships. But since we are versed in their doctrines, why do they not believe us who know both *sides of the controversy?* or do they envy us because we have preferred true to false? But rites publicly undertaken, they say are to be defended. Oh! with what a respectable intention those miserable men err! for they feel that there is nothing in human affairs more excellent than religion, and that religion ought to be defended with all their might; but, as in the religion itself, so are they deceived in the manner of defending it. For religion is to be defended, not by killing but by dying, not by cruelty but by patience, not by guilt but by faith; for the former belong to the wicked, the latter to the good. And it is necessary that good should pervade religion, not evil. For if thou wish to defend religion by blood, by torments, by evil, she will not thus be defended, but will be polluted, will be violated. For there is nothing so voluntary as religion, in which, if the soul of him who sacrifices be averse, the religion is withdrawn, it is non-existent. The right principle, therefore, is that thou defend religion by patience and death, in which principle faith is preserved, and the *principle* itself is pleasing to God, and adds authority to religion. For if he who in this earthly warfare preserves fidelity to his king in some admirable action, should he afterwards live, is more pleasing and more dear, and should he perish, obtains the highest glories because he has undergone death for his commander, how much more is not faith to be kept towards God, the Commander of all, who can pay the reward of virtue not only to the living but to the dead! Therefore, the worship of God, since it is a Heavenly warfare, requires the utmost devotion and faith. For how will God love the man who worships Him, if He be not loved by him; or how will He give to the man who prays, anything that he prays for, if he come to prayer neither sincerely nor devoutly? But they who come to sacrifice offer nothing intimate, nothing of their own to their gods, not integrity of mind, nor reverence, nor fear. Therefore, having gone through these empty sacrifices, they leave all their religion in the temple and with the temple as they had found it, and they bring

nothing with them from it, and take nothing back to it. Hence, it seems that religions of this kind can neither make men good, nor can they be firm and immutable.

Therefore, men are easily drawn away from those, because nothing is learned there for life, for existence, for faith. For what is the superstition of these gods? What is its force? what its discipline? what its origin? what its reason? what its foundation? what its substance? Whither does it tend? or what does it promise, that it can be faithfully observed by a man and gravely defended? In which I see nothing else than a rite which refers to the fingers merely. But our religion is firm, and solid, and immutable, because it teaches justice, because it is always with us, because it is all in the mind of the worshipper, because it has the mind itself for a sacrifice. In the heathen religion nothing else is required than the blood of animals, and smoke, and an empty libation; in the Christian religion, a good mind, a pure breast, an innocent life. To the one there come, without discrimination, shameless adulteresses, petulant procuresses, obscene strumpets—there come gladiators, robbers, thieves, poisoners, and they ask nothing else than that they may commit their crimes with impunity. For what does the robber or the gladiator ask when sacrificing, unless that they may kill? What does the lustful man ask, but that he may deceive? what the strumpet, but that she may sin more? what the adulteress, unless that she may pray for the death of her husband, or that her impurity may be concealed? what the procuress, unless that she may strip of their property as many as possible? what the thief, unless that he steal as much as may be? Here (*with us*), on the contrary, there is no place even for a light and ordinary sin. And, if any one should come to the sacrifice without a sound conscience, he hears what God threatens against him—*God*, who sees the hidden places of the heart, who is always hostile to sin, who exacts justice, who demands faith. What room is there here for a bad mind or a bad prayer? But neither do these unhappy men understand, from their own crimes, how bad a thing it is that they worship. Since, being polluted with all disgraceful crimes, they come, and they believe that they sacrifice piously if they wash their skin; as if any rivers or any seas can purify the passions shut up in the breast. How much better is it not to cleanse the mind, which is sullied with bad desires, and to drive away all vices by one wave of virtue and faith? Which, whosoever shall have done, although he may have a soiled and dirty body, is sufficiently pure.

Encouragement and strengthening of the pious.

BOOK VII., CH. XXVII.

SINCE, having gone through the seven stages of our proposed work, we have come to the goal, it remains that we exhort all to the adoption of wisdom, with the true religion: the strength and office of which (*wisdom*) consists in this, that having contemned and cast aside those Earthly errors by which we were formerly held, serving frail things and desiring frail things, we may be directed to the eternal rewards of the Heavenly treasure. Which that we may receive, the enticing pleasures of the present life, which seduce the souls of men by dangerous sweetness, are to be left aside. How great a happiness is it not to be considered, that *a man* withdrawn from the stains of the earth should depart to that most just Judge and indulgent Father, who bestows rest for labour, life for death, light for darkness, and eternal and Heavenly for short-lived and Earthly advantages: with which reward, the bitterness and miseries which we suffer in this life while doing the works of justice, can nowise be compared and equalled. Moreover, if we wish to be wise, if we wish to be happy, there are to be thought of and set before us not only those things alluded to by Terence, when he says, "that we must grind in a bake-house, and be beaten, and wear fetters", but things much more terrible than those—the dungeon, chains, torments, are to be suffered, pains are to be endured, death itself is to be undergone and borne, when it is evident to our conscience that neither can this frail pleasure be without penalty, nor virtue without a divine reward.

It behoves all, therefore, to take care that they direct themselves as soon as possible to the right way, that having undertaken and performed virtues, and having patiently gone through the labours of this life, they may deserve to have God as their consoler. For our Father and Lord, who has founded and strengthened the Heavens; who has introduced the sun along with the other stars; who has intrenched with mountains the Earth balanced by its greatness; surrounded it with the sea, and arrayed it with all things; and who formed and perfected out of nothing whatever is in this work of the world: having seen the errors of men, sent to us a leader, who should open to us the way of justice. Let us all follow Him, let us all hear Him, let us most devotedly obey Him, since He alone, as Lucretius says, "has purified the

breasts of men with truthful sayings, and has fixed an end of desire and fear, and explained to us what is the highest good towards which we all tend, and showed within narrow compass the way by which we could go to it in a direct course". Nor did He only show the way, but also went before us, lest any one should dread the way of virtue by reason of its difficulty. Let the path of perdition and fraud in which death, hidden by the seductions of pleasure, is concealed, be abandoned (if it can be).

And in proportion as each one by his years verging upon old age, perceives that the day is at hand on which he is to depart from this life, let him think how he may depart as pure as possible, how he may come as innocent as possible before the judge; not as those do, to whose blind minds light is denied, who, when the strength of their body fails, are admonished in this of the imminency of the final necessity, *only* that they apply more ardently to draining their passions. Out of which gulf let each one free himself while he can, while opportunity is given, and let him convert himself to God with all his mind, that he may securely await that day in which God, the President and Lord of the world, will judge concerning the acts and thoughts of each one. Let him not only neglect, but even fly from, whatever things are sought after here, and let him judge his own soul to be of more value than those deceitful advantages of which the possession is uncertain and frail; for they continually depart elsewhere, and they go forth much more quickly than they entered, and nevertheless if ever we be allowed to enjoy these things to the last, they must certainly be left to others. We can take nothing with us unless a life well and innocently spent. He will come to God affluent, he will come rich, to whom will be present, continence, mercy, patience, charity, faith. This is our inheritance, which neither can be snatched from any one nor transferred to another. And who is there who cares to prepare and acquire those things for himself?

Let those come who hunger, in order that, being saturated with Heavenly food, they may lay aside eternal hunger. Let those come who thirst, that they may draw with fullest mouths the water of salvation from its everlasting source. By this food and drink of God, both the blind will see, and the deaf will hear, and the dumb will speak, and the lame will walk, and the foolish will be wise, and the sick will be well, and the dead will come to life; for whoever will virtuously have trodden under foot the corrupting influences of the Earth, him, that supreme and true arbiter will revive to light and perpetual life. Let no one trust in riches, let

no one trust in favours, let no one trust even in royal power: those things do not make immortal. For whoever shall have cast aside the reason of man, and having followed present things shall, have prostrated himself upon the ground, will be punished as a deserter from his lord and commander and father. Let us, therefore, apply to justice, which alone, as an inseparable companion, will bring us to God, "and as long as the *breath* of life governs those limbs", let us wage an indefatigable warfare for God, let us keep our stations and our watches, and being triumphant over the vanquished enemy, let us obtain from the Lord the reward of virtue which He Himself has promised.

SAINT HILARIUS TO CONSTANTIUS.

THY beneficent nature, O most blessed Lord Augustus, agrees with thy benignant inclination. And since mercy abundantly flows from the spring of thy paternal piety, we are confident that we shall easily obtain what we ask. Not only with words but with tears do we beseech thee that the Catholic Churches may not any longer be subjected to the most grievous injuries, and sustain intolerable persecutions and contumelies, and what is nefarious, from our brethren. Let thy clemency provide and decree that all judges everywhere, to whom the administration of provinces is entrusted, to whom the care and solicitude of public matters merely ought to belong, may abstain from interference in religion, and may not henceforward presume and take it upon themselves, and think they can entertain the causes of the clergy, and break and vex innocent men by various afflictions, threats, violence, and terrors.

Thy singular and admirable wisdom understands that it is not becoming, that it is not fit, that unwilling and reluctant men should be forced and compelled, that, oppressed by violence, they should subject and attach themselves to those who do not cease to scatter the corrupt seeds of counterfeit doctrine. Therefore do you labour, and govern the state with salutary councils. You are out upon the watch, you are wakeful, in order that all over whom you rule may enjoy that sweetest *of all things*—liberty. By no other means can those things which have been disturbed be composed, and those which have been torn asunder be kept together, unless each one, bound by no necessity of servitude, has the absolute control of his way of living. Assuredly, by thy

clemency, ought to be heard the voice of those who exclaim: I am a Catholic, I do not wish to be a heretic; I am a Christian, not an Arian; and it is better for me to die in this world than, while the power of some private man is supreme, to debauch the chaste virgin of truth. And it ought to appear fair to thy sanctity, O most glorious Augustus, that those who fear the Lord God and the *divine judgment*, should not be polluted or contaminated by execrable blasphemies, but should have power to follow those bishops and prelates who preserve inviolate the treaties of charity, and desire to have perpetual and sincere peace. Nor can it happen, nor does reason suppose, that things repugnant should agree, that things unlike should be cemented together, that truth and falsehood should be mingled, that light and darkness should be confounded, that day and night also should have any combination. If, therefore, as we hope and believe without doubt, those things should move thy goodness, not implanted but innate in thee, command that the governors of districts no longer afford zeal, grace, and favour to the most grievous heretics. Let thy lenity allow to the populations that they may hear teaching those whom they wish, whom they think *safe*, whom they have chosen, and let them celebrate the divine solemnities of the mysteries, and offer up prayers for thy safety and happiness.

Let not every perverse or curious man speak malignant things: there is no suspicion not only of sedition, but not merely of a sharp murmur *against the government*. All things are quiet and becoming. And now those who are contaminated with the Arian and pestilent contagion, do not cease, with impious mouth and sacrilegious mind, to corrupt the purity of the gospels, and to distort the right rule of the apostles. They do not understand the divine prophets. Cunning and astute as they are, they use a certain artifice, that they may conceal the enclosed, pernicious, corrupting influence by a veil of studied words, and may not pour out their poisonous venom, until they shall make simple and innocent men, who have been carried away and ensnared under the pretext of the Christian name, guilty partakers of their horrid crime, in order that they may not perish alone.

And this thing we beseech of thy piety, that thou may command to return to their sees those who (admirable priests though they be, who are preëminently endowed with dignity of so great a name) are either in exile, or are held in desert places, that everywhere there may be grateful liberty and joyous gladness.

Who does not see? who does not understand? Within the last forty years, as if from the time that the only Son of God deigned

to come to the aid of the perishing human race, the apostles neither before nor after their martyrdom and departure were Christians, now a new and most detestable Arian pestilence, not of the corrupt air, but of execrable blasphemies, has been poured out. We have learned that those fictions were invented by the two Eusebii, and by Narcissus and Theodore, and by Stephen and Acacius, and by Menophantus, and the two ignorant and wicked young men Ursacius and Valens, whose letters are brought forward, and who are convicted by credible witnesses, who found them barking rather than arguing. With whom those who imprudently and incautiously mingle their communion, because they are the companions of their wickednesses, *and* the sharers of their crimes; it is inevitable that they who in this world have been cast off and abandoned (*by grace*) must suffer eternal punishment when the day of judgment shall have come.

It is no longer doubtful to any one how great care those holy men[153] took upon themselves with reference to the acquittal of Athanasius; so that after the opinions of the synod, which, out of reverence for the sacerdotal judgment, it was right should be kept within the sacerdotal or ecclesiastical conscience, it should be deemed fit that letters should be written, and an embassy to the prince arranged. But what also do they solicit in those letters but liberty of faith? What do they deprecate but the contagion of the Arian name, and they pray that chains, dungeons, tribunals, and all that deadly array, and that new prosecutions against the accused, be prohibited? God taught the knowledge of Himself rather than exacted it, and conciliated authority for His commands by the admiration of His Heavenly workings. He despised the forced will of confessing Him. If violence of this kind were applied in *the propagation* of the true faith, the episcopal doctrine would advance in opposition, and would say: God is the Lord of the Universe; He does not stand in need of necessary devotion; He does not require an enforced confession. He is not to be deceived, but to be deserved well of. He is to be venerated for our sake rather than His own. I cannot receive any one who is not willing, I cannot hear any one who does not pray. I cannot sign[154] any one who does not profess his faith. The Lord is to be sought by simplicity, He is to be learned by confession, He is to be loved with charity, He is to be venerated with fear, He is to be retained by probity of will. But what is *the meaning of this*, that priests are compelled by chains and ordered under penalties to fear God? The priests are held in dungeons, the people are disposed, bound in the custody of a chained file *of sol-*

diers; virgins are stripped for punishment, and bodies consecrated to God, exposed to the public gaze, are fitted out for the fruit of a public spectacle and of the torture. The *authors of those deeds* force men, not that all become Christians, but that they become Arians; and they force by their wickedness the faith confessed in God to a partnership of their crime. They even draw over the Emperor into error by the authority of his name, affirming it to be right, that under the pretext of the fear of God, in this perversity they may hand over his subjects to themselves. They call for trials; they require aids for the *ordinary* judicial proceedings; they implore the imperial authority; and neither if they blush at the perversity of their guilt, will they be able to extort the connivance of the people, even by power of forcing them.

If these things derived from ancient records were to inform the time of our own age, a doubt, as I think, ought to be entertained about such strange things. And when it was demanded by any persons that a man should be declared guilty, inquiry was made into the truth of letters, into the life of the judge, into the character of the accuser, into the morals and acts of the man himself. The condemnation of the Arians, united *with the other facts*, should induce his acquittal; and there would be extreme danger that he should set aside by inquiry the judgment of guilt or innocence, to which he had not submitted, and that all the authority of antiquity, together with the doctrine of faith, would take part in his defence. But when these very Arians, who were condemned as heretics, throw the thing into agitation, disturb everything, corrupt everything, and if Athanasius ever was guilty, he may still be so, let the witnesses speak, let the judges see, let the doctrine of faith shine forth from evangelical and apostolic precepts. What obtuseness of understanding is it not? what dulness of heart? what forgetfulness of hope? what love of crimes? what hatred of truth? They draw over the love of God in favour of the condemned.

I now come to what has been lately done, in which the profession of guilt disdained even to keep itself within the secrecy of its art. Eusebius, the bishop of Vercelli, is a man who has served God all his life. He, after the Synod of Arles, when the Bishop Paulinus opposed the so numerous crimes of these (Arians), is ordered to come to Milan: Here a synagogue of the malignants being collected, he is forbidden for ten days to approach the church, while perverse malice wastes itself against so holy a man. Then all their plans being calculated, when they think proper, he is summoned. He is present with the Roman Clerics,

and with Lucifer, the bishop of Sardinia. When he was asked that he should subscribe (*the decree*) against Athanasius, he says, "that it would be right in the first instance to be satisfied of the priestly faith *of the judges*, that some of those who were present had been ascertained by him to be polluted by heretical taint". He then placed in the midst, the faith which had been expounded at Nicæa, of which we have made mention above, promising that he would do everything which they required, if they were to subscribe the profession of faith. Dionysius, the bishop of Milan, first took the sheet. When he began to profess his faith by writing, Valens violently wrung the pen and sheet from his hands, crying out that it would not be that anything more should be done. The matter after much clamour was brought to the knowledge of the people; a grievous sorrowing of all arose; faith was assailed by the priests. Therefore they, fearing the judgment of the people, pass from the church into the palace. The sentence itself speaks for itself as to what kind of sentence they had written against Eusebius long before he had entered the church. . . . .

I am not unaware, O most pious Emperor, that those things which are brought forward to the hearing of the public knowledge, concerning certain matters, are considered important or trifling according to the dignity of those who speak: while, opinions being divided, the contempt, or favour of the man moves the doubtful opinion to the desire of understanding. But when I am about to speak to the pious words concerning the divine interest, I have no fear of the ordinary custom of men; because, seeing that thou art good and religious, and that no error of judgment amongst those who are acquainted with religious matters, inquires what may be said by any individual, but whether the things said are themselves conformable to religion; and because the opportunity of thy presence has been afforded to me by God, the duty of my conscience has not failed regarding even those matters, so that any unworthiness of him who speaks with thee should have an injurious effect upon the discourses which I have with thee concerning religion.

I am a bishop continuing in the communion of all the Gallic churches and bishops, although in exile, and still distributing the communion to the Church through my priests. But I am an exile, not through any crime *of mine*, but by faction; and accused before the pious Emperor by false accounts of the synod, *conveyed* through impious men, and not on account of any consciousness of my own crimes. Nor have I an unimportant witness of

my complaint—thy religious Cæsar Julian, who in my exile has endured more insults from the wicked than I have endured injury. For I have at hand the letters of thy piety. But all these falsehoods which they have procured with a view to my exile, are not in any secrecy. He himself also (Saturninus), either the instrument or the author of all the things that have been done, is within this city. Confiding in this condition of my conscience, I shall show that thou, Augustus, and thy deceived Cæsar, have been circumvented; so that if I shall be proved to have done anything unworthy, not only of the holiness of a bishop, but of the integrity of a layman, I shall not only not look to *the privilege of* the priesthood for indulgence, but I shall grow old in the penance of a layman.

But I now leave all those things, O most condescending Emperor, to thy decision, so far as, and in what manner thou commandest me to speak, and I pursue those things which in particular are to be treated of by me with thee at this time. For the present thou wilt give me this degree of preparation for thy cause, that I may bring forward him in person by whose instrumentality I am in exile, even unto the confession of the false things which he has done. But I shall say nothing of him unless when thou shalt have commanded me. But now I speak because I have a fear concerning the danger of the world, concerning the guilt of my silence, concerning the judgment of God, and because *I fear* concerning the hope, the life, the immortality, not so much of myself as of thee and of all; which, as it is common to me with many, so there is this expectation of common hope from me.

Recognize the faith, which, of old, best and most religious of emperors, thou desirest to hear from the bishops, and dost not hear. For while they, from whom this is required, write their own notions, and do not preach those things which are of God, they have brought around with them the eternal circle of error, and of the conflict always returning upon itself. For it would have been right, in the modesty of human weakness, that the entire sacramental definition of divine knowledge should be contained within those boundaries of its conscience, in which it believed, and that, after the faith confessed and sworn in baptism, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, no innovation or ambiguity should be introduced. But either the presumption or the weakness of some has in part fraudulently confessed the immutability of apostolic doctrine, and in part audaciously gone out of it. As in a sea billowy with the tempest, the safest plan to be followed by mariners is, that, when the

shipwreck is raging, they should return to the port from which they have set sail; or, what is suitable for incautious youths, that *when they* have used a lavish liberty, *then* under the immediate fear of losing their patrimony, their only necessary and safe recourse is to their father's house;[155] thus, amongst those shipwrecks of faith, when the inheritance of the Heavenly patrimony is almost wasted, it is safest for us to retain in our understanding the evangelical faith confessed in baptism. It is very dangerous and even pitiable for us *that there* should be as many paths as there are inclinations, and that there should be as many doctrines as there are varieties of morals, and that as many causes of blasphemy should sprout up as there are vices, while either *forms of* faith are written as we wish, or are understood as we do not wish. And whereas, according to the one God, and one Lord, and one baptism, there is but one faith, we depart out of that faith which is the only one; and while many faiths are being made, things have begun to come to that, that there is no faith.

SAINT AMBROSE—FUNERAL ORATION OF HIS BROTHER SATYRUS.

Why should I alone beyond the others bewail him whom ye all bewail? I have digested my private grief in the common grief, especially when my tears are of no avail; but your tears build up faith and bring consolation. You weep, O ye rich! and by weeping, you prove that hoarded riches assist nowise towards salvation, since death cannot be put off by purchase of money, and the last day carries off the rich man and the poor man with uniform habit. You weep, O ye old men! because in him ye tremble for the lot of your children; and for the reason that you cannot prolong the life of the body, therefore educate your children not for the indulgence of the body, but for the duty of virtue. You weep, O youths! because the maturity of old age is not the end of nature. The poor also wept, and what is much more precious and much more fruitful, they washed his offences with their tears. They are the redeeming tears, they the groans which hide the fear of death, that is, the grief which covers the feeling of old sorrow with the abundance of perpetual joy. Therefore, although his funeral was private, the grief was public, and therefore that weeping cannot be lasting which is consecrated by the affections of all.

For wherefore, my most loving brother, should I bewail thee, who hast been so taken from me that thou shouldst belong to all? For I have not lost thy familiarity, but have exchanged it. Formerly thou wert inseparable in body, now thou art undivided in affection; for thou dost remain with me, and always wilt remain. And indeed whilst thou wert living with us, thy country never took thee from me, and never didst thou prefer thy country to me; and now thou hast given me another country, for I begin to be no longer a stranger there, where the better part of myself is. For I was never altogether in myself, but the greater portion of each of us was in the other, but we were both in Christ, in whom is the supreme universality and the portion of each. This mound is more grateful to me than my natal soil, this mound, in which is the fruit not of my nature but of my grace: for in this body which now lies breathless is the better function of my life; because in this *body* also which I carry *about with* me, is a large portion of thee.

And would that as of thy memory, and as of thy grace, so likewise we could breathe out whatever portion of thy life it is that we breathe, and that half of my *years* should drop, so that it might avail for thy use. For it were right that between whom there was no division of the patrimony of property, the time of life should not be divided, or at least that we who have always had an undivided companionship of living, should not have divided companionship of dying.

But now, O brother, whither shall I go, or whither shall I turn myself? The ox seeks the ox, and does not think he is all himself *when separated from his companion*, and testifies his kindly love by frequent lowing, if by chance he with whom he has been used to draw the plough upon his neck should be wanting; and shall I not seek for thee, my brother? And can I ever forget thee, with whom I have always carried the plough of this life? inferior to me in labour, but more united to me in love; not so much practised in my virtue, as enduring in thy patience; thou who, ever anxious with pious affection, didst fence my side with thy side; with love as a brother; with care as a father; with anxiety as an elder brother; with reverence as a younger. Thus, in one degree of kindred, thou didst pay to me the duties of many relations, so that in thee I must look for not one lost, but many, in whom alone flattery was unknown, and affection was expressed. For thou who didst include everything in thy tenderness, hadst nothing to add by affectation, so that thou neither didst receive increase, nor expect return.

But whither unmindful of my duty, mindful only of thy favour, do I advance with my immoderate grief? The apostle calls me back, and, as it were, draws reins over my sadness, saying, as you have lately heard: "And we will not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning those that are asleep, that you be not sorrowful even as others who have no hope". Give me pardon, dearest brethren, for we cannot all say: "Be ye imitators of me as I am of Christ". But if you look for some leader for imitation, you have one whom you may imitate. We are not all fit for teaching: would that we were all manageable for learning.

But we have not contracted a serious fault by our tears. Every weeping is not the result of infidelity or weakness. The grief of nature is one grief, the sadness of mistrust is another *kind of sadness;* and it is an important *distinction* to yearn after what thou hast had, and to bewail what thou hast lost. Nor only has grief tears: joy has tears of her own. Piety also excites tears, and prayer waters the couch, and supplication, according to the prophetic saying, washes the couch. When the patriarchs were being buried, their friends also made a great weeping. Tears are the marks of piety, they are not the allurements of grief. I confess, therefore, that I also have wept; but the Lord also wept. He wept for a stranger, I weep for my brother: He wept for all in one; I, in all shall weep for thee, my brother. . . .

For what return shall I make for so much grace, for so much labour? I, O my brother, made thee my heir; thou hast left me thy heir; I wished that thou shouldst be the survivor; thou hast dismissed me a survivor. I put up prayers that I might pay thee back benefits for thy gifts; now I have lost what I prayed for, but I have not lost thy benefits. What shall I do, I the successor of my heir? What shall I do, I who have survived my own life? What shall I do, deprived of this light which I receive? What thanks, what gifts shall I pay thee back? Thou hast nothing from me but tears. Or perhaps, secure of thy merit, thou dost not require the tears which alone I have surviving. For whilst thou wert still living, thou didst forbid me to weep, and thou didst testify that our grief was more painful to thee than thy own death. My tears forbid me to go farther, and they recall my lamentation. Regard for thee also forbids me, lest while we weep over our losses, we should appear to despair about thy merits.

But certainly thou also dost diminish for us the bitterness of this grief. I who feared for thee, have no longer anything to fear: I have no longer anything that the world can take from me. Although our holy sister survives, venerable for her integrity,

equal to thee in *perfection of* morals, not inferior in *kind* offices; nevertheless we both feared more for thee; we both considered the sweetness of life to be stored up in thee. On account of thee, it delighted us to live; on account of thee, it was not displeasing to die; for we both prayed that thou shouldst survive us; it was not our wish that we should survive thee. When was it that our spirit did not shudder when a fear of this kind thrilled us? How was not our mind thrown into consternation by the news of thy illness?

Alas for our unhappy opinion. We thought him to be restored whom we see to have been merely detained. For we now know that by thy prayers to the holy martyr Laurence thy journey was obtained. And would thou hadst asked not only the period of thy journey, but a long time of life. Thou wouldst have been able to obtain many years of life, who wert able to obtain the time of coming *hither*. And to thee, indeed, O omnipotent eternal God, I return thanks, because thou hast not denied us even these last consolations, because thou hast bestowed upon us the longed-for return of our most loving brother from the African or Sicilian country, for so speedily after he returned was he taken away, that he seemed to have been spared for this reason only, that he might return to his brethren.[156]

I have truly my pledge, which no travelling now can ever take from me; I have those remains which I may embrace; I have the mound which I may cover with my body; I have the sepulchre on which I may lie; and I shall believe myself to be more acceptable to God, because I shall rest upon the bones of the holy body. Would that I could thus also have offered my body against thy death. Hadst thou been assailed with swords, would I not rather have given myself to be pierced for thee? If I could have recalled thy parting soul, I would rather have offered mine.

It was of no avail for me to have drunk in thy last breathings, nor to have breathed my breath into the mouth of the dying; for I thought that I would either myself have received this death, or that I would transfuse my life into thee. O unhappy, and yet sweet, last pledges of our kisses. O sad embraces, amongst which the lifeless body stiffened and the last breath escaped. I was clasping his arms, indeed, but I had already lost what I was holding, and I gathered with my mouth his last breath, in order that I might draw in a companionship of his death. But I know not how this breath was made vital to me, and savoured of a greater sweetness in death itself. And would that, if I have been unable to lengthen thy life by my breath, the vigour of

even thy last breath could be transfused into my mind, and that our affection had breathed that purity and innocence of thy spirit! Thou wouldst have left me this inheritance, O dearest brother, which would not strike my affection with tearful grief, but would recommend me thy heir with memorable favour.

What, therefore, shall I do, now that I have lost all the sweetness, all the consolations, in a word all the embellishments of this life? For thou alone wert my consolation at home, my honour abroad; thou, I say, my controller in my plans, the sharer of my care, my dissuader from anxiety, the dispeller of my grief; thou the vindicator of my acts; thou, in fine, the only one in whom my domestic anxiety resided, in whom my public care reposed. I appeal to thy holy soul that in the fabrics of the Church I often feared lest I should displease thee. Finally, when thou didst return, thou didst rebuke my delay, so truly at home and abroad a certain instructor and controller of the priest, that thou didst not allow him to think of domestic matters, and thought he should attend to public things alone. But, I shall be afraid of appearing to speak arrogantly, for this is a portion of thy praise, because, without any offence, thou hast governed the house of thy brother, and hast recommended his priesthood.

Our tears will, therefore, cease; for we must obey the salutary remedies, because there must be some difference between the faithful and the perfidious. Let those weep, therefore, who cannot have a hope of resurrection, which not the decision of God, but the inclemency of their faith, snatches away. Let there be this difference between the servants of Christ and the worshippers of idols—that the latter bewail their friends whom they believe to have departed for ever; let those have no holiday for their tears, let those have no rest from their sorrow, who think that there is no rest of the dead. But for us to whom death is the end not of nature, but of this life, since nature herself is removed by it into a better state, let the event of death wipe away all tears.

Assuredly if they who have regarded death as the end of sensation and the failure of nature, have found out for themselves some consolation, how much more should not we do so, to whom the consciousness of good deeds promises rewards after death? The Gentiles have their consolations because they believe that death is the repose of all evils; and as in death they are destitute of the fruit of life, so they think that they *the dead* are free from the feeling and pain of the punishments which weighty and constant as they are we endure in this life. But as we are more erect in *the hope of the*

reward, so we should be more patient in consolation. For those whom death is not destined to take, but eternity is about to receive, appear not to be lost but to be sent before us.

Our tears shall therefore cease, or if they cannot cease, I will bewail thee, O brother, in lamentations common to us all, and I shall cover my private groans under the public grief. For how can I cease when at every sound of thy name tears steal forth, either when thou thyself excitest remembrance, or when affection represents thy image, or when recollection renews my grief? For when art thou wanting, who performest so many offices? Thou art present, I say, and always met by me; and with my whole spirit and mind, I embrace thee, I see thee, I speak to thee, I kiss thee, I hold thee, either in the nightly repose or in the clear light, when thou deignest to revisit me and to console me in my sorrow. Finally, the very nights themselves, which appeared as it were more disagreeable while thou wert living, because they denied us the opportunity of mutual sight, that very sleep which was formerly an unamiable interruption of our conversation, has now begun to be agreeable because it has restored thee to me. We are therefore not miserable but happy; of whom neither the presence fails nor the care diminishes, and whose favour is increased, for the image of death is like that of sleep.

And if in the nightly repose, while souls are still within the chains of the body, and as it were banished amongst the imprisoning enclosures of the members, they nevertheless can see loftier and different things, how much more do they not contemplate those things, when no obstructions of corporeal imperfection are suffered by the now pure and ethereal sense? And, when deservedly, I complained upon a certain day which was verging to its close, that thou didst not revisit me reposing all the time, thou wert undividedly with me; so that drenched with that languor of the members, while I was watching to thee, and thou wert living to me, I said: "What is death, O brother? For certainly thou shalt be separated from me at no moment: for thou wert everywhere so present to me, that the enjoyment of each other which we were unable to have in the course of this life, may now be present to us always and everywhere. For then, indeed, all things could not always be present, for neither were our embraces, and the sight of each other, and the sweetness of our corporeal kisses, in all places or at all times. The images of our minds were always with us, even when we were not together; which images have not died even now, and continually fly to me in greater abundance in proportion as my longing is greater.

I hold thee, therefore, my brother, nor shall death or time bear thee away. My very tears are sweet, my very lamentations are pleasant, by which the fire of my soul is quenched, and my feeling relaxed, as it were, evaporates. For I can neither ever be without thee, or ever not remember thee, or ever remember thee without tears. O bitter days, which betray our interrupted union! O mournful nights, which have lost so good a companion of repose and my inseparable associate! How many crosses would you not produce, unless the visions of my spirit should represent him whom the form of the body denies thee!

Now, O brother, dearest to my soul, although thou hast departed by an untimely decease, nevertheless thou art happy that thou dost not endure those things, and dost not in sorrow address thy lost brother, whose absence thou hadst been able to endure for a long time, but whom thou didst revisit by a quick return. If at that time thou didst hasten to drive away the uneasiness of my solitude, and to lighten the sadness of my brotherly mind, how much more frequently oughtest thou not now to revisit my afflicted mind, and through thyself to assuage the grief conceived from thee.

But to me, however, the practice of my function gives some truce, and the application of my priestly duty withdraws my mind; but what will happen to our holy sister, who, although she tempers her mind with divine fear, nevertheless enkindles the very grief of her affection by the zeal of religion? Prostrate upon the earth and embracing the mound with her entire bosom, wearied with her laborious walk, sad in feeling, she passes whole days and nights in sorrow. For, although she, for the most part, interrupts her lamentation in speaking, she renews it in prayer. And although the recollection of the Scriptures anticipates those who scatter consolations, nevertheless she gratifies her desire for weeping by her assiduity at prayer, renewing the profusion of her tears then especially when no one can interrupt. Thus thou hast what thou mayest pity,—thou hast not what thou mayest reprehend: for, to weep in prayer is a virtue. And although this is a familiar occurrence to virgins, whose sex is softer, whose sensibility is more tender, that, at the gaze of our common weakness, it should overflow with tears even without the feeling of private sorrow, still when there is a greater cause of being sad, the end is shut out from those sorrows.

There is wanting, therefore, a way of consolation, because there is at hand a reason of excusing her grief; nor canst thou forbid that which thou teachest, especially when she pours out

tears of religion, not of grief, and conceals the course of common lamentation by the fear of shame. Console her, therefore, thou who canst visit her spirit, who canst penetrate her mind. Let her perceive that thou art present—let her feel that thou art not dead—that, enjoying the consolation of him concerning whose merit she is sure, she may learn not to grieve weightily for him, who shall have admonished her that he is not to be grieved for.

But why do I delay thee, O my brother?—why do I wait that our speech should die along with thee, and, as it were, be buried with thee? Although the very appearance and form of thy lifeless body console me, and thy lingering beauty and continuing figure soothe my eyes, I make no delay; I say: Let us proceed to the tomb. But, before doing so, I say the last "farewell" in presence of the people; I bid thee peace; I pay thee the kiss. Go before me to that house common and due to all men, but desirable to me beyond the others; prepare companionship for a guest; and, as here all things were in common between us, so there let us not know any divided right.

Do not, I pray thee, long put off one who is eager for thee; help me hastening on, and if I shall seem to thee to loiter too long, call me. For never were we very long asunder from each other: still thou wert accustomed to revisit me. Now, since thou canst not return, we will go to thee. It is fair that we should repay our duty,—that we should take our turn. Never was our condition of life in any degree separate: our health or our illness was always common to us both; so that when the one was sick, the other would run into disease, and when one would be in course of recovery, the other would rise. How have we lost our right? There was now a fellowship of illness,—how was there not a fellowship of death?

To Thee now, O omnipotent God, I commend this innocent soul,—to Thee I offer my victim. Accept graciously and serenely the gift of the brother—the sacrifice of the priest. I send before me those libations. I come to Thee in this pledge. Do not suffer me to remain any longer the debtor of such an interest. That interest of brotherly love is not trifling, nor that lot of nature vile, which the increase of virtue accumulates.[157] I may be able to bear it if I am forced to pay it soon.

Concerning the Resurrection.

THE faith of the resurrection is drawn with more peculiar evidence from three *proofs*, in which all things are included: from reason, from the example of the universe, from the testimony of what has been done, because several have arisen. Because whereas our entire course of life is in the companionship of body and soul, and the resurrection contains either the reward of well-doing or the punishment of ill-doing, it is necessary that the body should arise, whose doing is examined; for how can the soul be called to judgment without the body, when an account has to be rendered concerning her own fellowship with the body?

Resurrection has been given to all things; but for this reason is it considered difficult, because it is not our deserving, but the gift of God. The first *principle*, therefore, *of* belief in the resurrection, is the course of the world and the condition of all things, the series of generations, the alternation of successions, the setting and rising of the signs (*of the Zodiac*), the setting of day and night; and their daily succession coming as it were to life again. The system also of the genital constitution of this earth could not exist *in the earth*, on any other condition than that the divine arrangement should renew by the nightly dew as much of its moisture, by which all earthly things are generated, as the heat of the sun in the day-time should cause to evaporate. For why must I speak of the fruits? Do they not appear to thee to set when they fall, and to rise when they bloom again? What has been sown rises again; what has been dead arises, and they are formed again into the same kinds and into the same species (*to which they originally belonged*). The earth first gave back those fruits, and in those our nature first imitated the appearance of the resurrection.

Why dost thou doubt that body arises from body? The grain is sown, the grain rises: the apple falls, the apple rises; but the grain is dressed with the flower and is clothed with the hull. "And this mortal must put on immortality, and this corruptible must put on incorruption". Immortality is the flower of the resurrection, incorruption is the flower of the resurrection. For what is more fruitful than perpetual repose? What is richer than lasting security? This is the manifold fruit, by whose increase the nature of men buds forth more prolific after death.

But thou dost wonder how things putrefied become solid, how things scattered unite, how things destroyed are renewed; thou dost not wonder how things dissolved by the warmth and pres-

sure of the earth bloom again. For, indeed, by the cohesion also of the earth, things putrefied are dissolved, and when the sap of the genital soil has animated those hidden and dead *seeds* with a certain vital warmth, they exhale a certain spirit of the blooming herb. Then by degrees the stalk quickly raises the tender age of the growing ear, and nature like an attentive mother encloses it as it were in certain sheaths, lest the harsh frost wither it as it advances to maturity, and she protects it from the excessive heat of the sun, and she has also been wont to hedge round with a certain fence of beards, the grain itself just bursting as it were from its first cradle, and by and by grown up, lest the rain should shake it out, or the breeze should scatter it, or the pecking of the smaller birds kill it.

Why, therefore, dost thou wonder if the earth restore the men whom she has taken, seeing that she vivifies, erects, clothes, protects, and defends whatever bodies of seeds she has received? Cease, therefore, to doubt that the *good* faith of the earth, which restores the seeds entrusted to her multiplied with a certain usurious interest, pays back also the deposit of the human race. For why am I to speak concerning the kind of trees which rise from a sown seed, and resuscitate with revived fertility the fruits which have been dissolved, and restore them to their old form and likeness, and transmit certain renewed bodies of trees through many ages; so that by lasting, they conquer centuries themselves? We see the grape-stone rot, and the vine arise *therefrom:* the graft is inserted and the tree revives. So that there is a divine Providence for the renewal of trees, and none for the renewal of men! And *is it to be believed that* He who did not suffer those things to perish which He gave for the use of men, should suffer man to perish, whom He has made to His own likeness?

But it appears to thee incredible that the dead should live again. "Senseless man, that which thou sowest, does it not die first that it be quickened?" Sow any dry fruit, it is revived; but it has a sap. And our body has its blood, has its own moisture. This is the sap of our body. Whence that argument which I believe has been exploded, that some deny that a withered graft can ever revive, and endeavour to draw this circumstance to the prejudice *of the resurrection* of the flesh. For the flesh is not dry, in as much as all flesh is from the slime of the earth, and slime consists in moisture, and moisture is from the earth. Finally, many plants arise even in perpetual serenity of sky (*absence of rain*) and in dry and sandy soil, since the earth sup-

plies moisture to herself. In the *case of* men, therefore, does the earth degenerate, which has been wont to regenerate all other things? Thus, it is not to be doubted that *the resurrection* is according to nature rather than against it, for it is agreeable to nature that all things which were born rise again; it is contrary to nature that they perish.

Next follows that argument which for the most part disquiets the Gentiles,—how it should come to pass that the earth should restore those whom the sea has engulphed, whom wild animals have torn, whom beasts have devoured. By which course of reasoning we must necessarily come to this, that the doubt is entertained not concerning the doctrine of the resurrection, but concerning a portion of it. For, let it be *taken for granted* that the bodies of those who have been torn do not rise again, the others rise again, nor is the resurrection destroyed, but a condition is exempted from it. Nevertheless, I wonder why they should think they ought to doubt concerning these, as if all things which come from the earth do not return to earth and are not resolved into earth. The water for the most part also throws up upon the neighbouring shores whatever corpses of men the sea itself shall have sunk. Even if this were not so, *am* I *to* imagine that it would be difficult for God to collect what had been dispersed, to unite what had been scattered? to God, whom the world hearkens, whom the dumb elements obey, whom nature serves, as if it is not a greater miracle to animate the slime of the earth than to put it together?

Therefore, although thou believe not our resurrection by faith, although thou believe it not by example, thou art about to believe it by experience. And for the ripening of other fruits, such as the vine, the olive, and the various kinds of apples, the last period of the year is suitable, and for us also the consummation of the world, as it were the last part of the year, has prescribed a suitable age of resurrection. And the resurrection of the dead is properly in the consummation of the world, lest after the resurrection we should have to fall back into this evil world. For therefore did Christ suffer that He might free us from this evil world, lest the temptations of this world should again destroy us, and it would hurt us to be born again, if we were to be born again to sin.

SAINT AUGUSTIN.

Concerning the City of God.

BOOK I., CHAP. XXIX.

What the family of Christ should answer to the infidels, when they reprooch them with the fact that Christ did not free them from the fury of their enemies,

THEREFORE every family of the highest and true God, has its consolation not fallacious, nor placed in the hope of tottering and falling things, and it has even a temporal life by no means to be a subject of regret, in which it is instructed for eternal life; and it uses Earthly advantages as does a traveller, and is not taken by them, but it is either tried or corrected by Earthly evils; but those who insult its probation, and say to it when by chance it has come into some temporal evils: "O where is thy God?" let them say to themselves, where are their own gods, when they suffer such things, for avoiding which they worship them, or contend that they are to be worshipped? For this *family* answers: My God is everywhere present, everywhere entire, is nowhere shut up, he is one who can be present in secrecy, or absent without being moved. He, when He disturbs me with adversity, either tries my merits, or chastises my sins, or keeps for me an eternal reward for temporal evils previously suffered: but you, who are people with whom it is proper to speak concerning at least your own gods, how much less *proper is it to speak* with you concerning my God, who is terrible over all gods, since the gods of the Gentiles are demons, but the Lord has made the Heavens.

(CHAPTER XXX.)

With what shameful prosperity those wish to abound who complain of the Christian times.

IF that Scipio Nasica, formerly your pontiff, were living, he whom under the terror of the Punic war, when the best man was sought for the purpose of receiving the Phrygian rites, the universal senate chose, whose countenance perhaps you would not dare to look upon; he would restrain you from this impudence. For why, when afflicted by adversity, do you complain about the Christian times, unless because you wish to have your luxury undis-

turbed, and to overflow in your most abandoned morals, all harshness of trouble being removed? For you do not therefore desire to have peace and to abound in every kind of riches, that you may make use of those things honourably, that is to say, modestly, soberly, temperately, piously; but that an infinite variety of pleasures may be sought out by insane expenses, and that by prosperity those evils may arise in your morals which are worse than raging enemies. But that Scipio, your Pontifex Maximus, he who in the judgment of the whole senate was the best man *in Rome*, fearing this calamity for you, was unwilling that Carthage, then the rival of the Roman Empire, should be destroyed, and dreading security as an enemy for your weak minds, and seeing that terror was necessary *for you*, as it were a proper guardian for wards, opposed Cato, who voted that it should be destroyed. Nor did his opinion deceive him, inasmuch as Carthage being destroyed, and in this way the real terror of the Roman Republic being repelled and extinguished, such great evils arising from prosperity immediately followed hard upon, that the concord of the citizens being decayed and broken, first by cruel and bloody seditions, next by a chain of evil causes; in the civil wars, also, such slaughters were perpetrated, so much blood was shed, and monstrous cruelty raged with such a greed of proscription and plunder, that those Romans who in their more virtuous life dreaded evils from the enemy, having lost their innocence of life, suffered more cruelties from their fellow-citizens; and that very lust of ruling, which amongst the other vices of the human kind was more racy in the entire Roman people; after it prevailed in a few of the more powerful, oppressed with the yoke of slavery, the other citizens also broken down and wearied.

(CHAP. XXXI.)

By what gradations of vices the desire of reigning increased in the Romans.

For when did that desire find rest in their most haughty minds, until, by continued honours, it attained to kingly power? But there would not have been means of continuing those honours unless ambition prevailed; but ambition would not prevail unless in a people corrupted by avarice and luxury. But the people were rendered avaricious and luxurious by that prosperity which that Nasica most providently thought should be guarded against,

when he was unwilling that the greatest, bravest, and richest state amongst your enemies should be removed, in order that passion might be kept under by fear; that passion, being kept under, might not wanton; and that, luxury being restrained, neither should avarice move at large; which vices being bolted in, public virtue, useful to the state, should flourish and increase, and liberty, suitable to such virtue, should remain. Hence also it was, and it proceeded from this most provident love of country, that this same Pontifex Maximus of yours, elected (for the thing is often to be mentioned) as the best man by the senate of that time, without any difference of opinion, restrained from its purpose and anxiety the senate, planning to construct the area of a theatre; and he persuaded it, by his authoritative speech, that it should not suffer Greek luxury to creep in upon the manly morals of the country, and to consent to foreign wickedness for damaging and enervating Roman virtue; and so much does he prevail by his influence, that the senatorial prudence, being moved by his words, afterwards forbade the benches to be arranged, which, brought together for the occasion, the city had began to use in the spectacle of their games. With how much zeal would not he have removed those very scenic plays, if he could venture to resist the authority of those whom he thought to be gods, and whom he did not understand to be noxious demons; or, if he did understand it, he conceived that they were to be appeased rather than to be contemned. For the Heavenly doctrine had not as yet been declared to men, which, cleansing the heart by faith, changed, by humble piety, the human inclination for taking in celestial and super-celestial things, and freed it from the rule of proud demons.

(CHAP. XXXIII.)

Concerning the vices of the Romans, whom the ruin of their country did not correct.

O INSANE minds! what monstrous, *I do* not *say* error, but madness, is not this of yours, that while, as we have heard, eastern nations deplore your lot, and the greatest states in the most remote lands are giving expression to public grief and sorrow, you look for, enter, and fill the theatres and render them much more insane than they were before! It was this plague and pestilence of your minds—it was this subversion of probity and virtue—that Scipio feared for you when he forbade theatres to be

built; when he discerned that you could be easily corrupted and overturned by prosperity; when he was unwilling that you should be free from the fear of enemies. For neither did he consider that to be a fortunate city, in which, while the walls stood, the morals fell. But in you *the fact* that impious demons seduced you, prevailed more than the fact that prudent men took precautions for you. Hence it is that you do not wish the evil deeds you do to be imputed to you, while you yourselves impute the evils which you suffer, to the Christian times.[158] For you do not see in your security the peace of the republic, but impunity for your luxury; you who having been corrupted by prosperity, could not be corrected by adversity. That Scipio *of yours* wished you to be kept in terror by the enemy, lest you should fall into luxury,—but not even now, when you are broken by the enemy, do you restrain your luxury. You have lost the profit of calamity; you have at once become most miserable, and continued most wicked.

(BOOK II., CHAP XVI.)

That if the gods had any regard for justice, the Romans ought to have preferred receiving rules of life from them, rather than borrowing laws from other men.

But if the Romans could have received laws of living from their gods, they would not borrow from the Athenians the laws of Solon, some years after the founding of Rome, which laws, however, they did not hold as they had received them, but endeavoured to render better and more accurate. Although Lycurgus pretended that he established laws for the Lacedemonians by the authority of Apollo, because the Romans prudently refused to believe it, they, therefore, did not receive their laws from them. Numa Pompilius, who succeeded Romulus in the government, is said to have framed some laws which by no means sufficed for the government of the state, *and* he who also established by those *laws* many religious rites, is not, however, said to have received those laws from the divinities. Therefore, their gods took not the smallest care that the evils of the mind, the evils of life, the evils of morals, which are so great that their most learned men assure us that states perish by those even while their cities are standing, should not befal their worshippers; nay, as has been argued above, they took care in every way that those evils should be increased.

(CHAP. XXII.)

That the gods of the Romans never took any care that the republic should not perish by corrupt morals.

BUT as far as concerns the present question, however praiseworthy they may say that this state was or is; according to their most learned authors, it had become in the highest degree wicked and disgraceful, nay it had ceased to be, and had altogether perished by its most abandoned morals long before the coming of Christ. In order, therefore, that it should not perish, the gods, its guardians, ought to have given to the people their worshippers, precepts, especially of[159] life and morals; *to the people*, by whom they were worshipped with so many temples, so many priests, so many kinds of sacrifices, with such manifold and various rites, with so many festal solemnities, and with the observances of so many and such games, where the demons did nothing except their own business, not caring how those, *their worshippers*, lived; nay rather, taking care that they should live abandonedly, provided, however, that, subdued by fear, they should minister all those things to their honour; or, if they gave *any such rule*, let it be brought forward, let it be shown what rules of the gods given to that state, the Gracchi despised, so that they threw all things into confusion by their seditions; what rules Marius, and Cinna, and Carbo despised, so that they advanced even to civil wars, undertaken for most unjust causes, cruelly waged and more cruelly ended; what laws, in fine, Sylla himself contemned, whose life, morals, and deeds, as described by Sallust and other writers of history, who is there who does not abhor? Who does not admit that this republic perished then?

Perhaps, on account of morals of this description amongst the citizens, they will venture to allege in defence of their gods. as they are in the habit of doing, this passage of Virgil: "All the gods by whom the empire had stood, departed, having quitted their shrines and altars".

First, if this be so, they have no reason why they complain of the Christian religion, because, *as they pretend*, offended by this *religion*, their gods have deserted them; since their forefathers, by their morals, have drawn away from the altars of the city gods as numerous and as minute as flies. Still, where was the crowd of divinities, when, long before the ancient morals were corrupted, Rome was taken and burned by the Gauls? Was it that, though present, they slept? For, then the whole city being reduced under

the power of the enemy, the Capitoline hill alone remained, which also would have been taken had not the geese, at least, been awake, while the gods slept. Whence, Rome had fallen almost into the superstition of the Egyptians, who worship beasts and birds, when *the Romans* celebrated solemnities to a goose. But, concerning those adventitious evils, which are evils of the body rather than of the mind, and which happen to us from enemies, or from any other misfortune, I do not as yet argue; I now treat concerning the plague of the morals, which, being at first gradually discoloured, and then precipitated after the manner of a torrent, so great a ruin of the republic took place, that although with the roofs and walls untouched, great authors do not hesitate to say that it was then lost. But, the gods would have been justified in going away, having left their shrines and altars, so that state should be lost, if the state had despised their precepts concerning good life and justice. But, now what manner of gods were they, I pray you, if they were unwilling to live with that people, their worshippers, whom, when living badly, they had not taught to live well?

(CHAP. XXIX.)

Exhortation to the Romans concerning the rejection of the worship of the gods.

DESIRE rather those things, O praiseworthy Roman nature, O thou progeny of the Reguli, the Scævolæ, the Scipios, the Fabricii,—desire those things rather, and distinguish them from that most base vanity and most deceitful malignity of the demons. If anything naturally worthy of praise be conspicuous in thee, it is not purified and perfected, save by true piety, but it is utterly destroyed and punished by impurity. Now, therefore, choose what thou art to follow, and thou wilt be praised, not in thyself, but in the true God, without any error. For then, indeed, the popular glory was present to thee, but, by a secret judgment of divine Providence, the true religion, which thou mightest choose, was wanting. Awake, it is day. *Awake*, as thou didst awake in some *Romans*, concerning whose perfect virtue and faith, true even in martyrdom, we glory, who, fighting to the last against the most hostile powers, and bravely subduing them by dying, have procured this country for us by their blood; to which country we invite and exhort you, that you may be added to the

number of its citizens; to this country, of which the true remission of sins is in some sense a sanctuary. Do not attend to the degenerate citizens, detracting from Christ and accusing the times as bad, when they look for times, not in which they may have a quiet life, but rather safe wickedness. These things were never pleasing to thee even for thy Earthly country. Now then seize upon the Heavenly country, for which thou shalt labour very little, and in it wilt reign truly and for ever. For there, there is, not a Vestal hearth, not a Capitoline stone, but the one and true God; nor shall He assign times or boundaries of things, but He will give empire without end.

Do not look for false and deceitful gods: cast them off rather and contemn them, emerging into true liberty. They are not gods—they are malignant spirits, to whom thy eternal happiness is a punishment. Juno did not so much grudge the Roman towers to the Trojans, from whom thou derivest thy carnal origin, as those demons, whom thou still thinkest gods, grudge the everlasting seats to the entire race of men. And thou thyself hast pronounced judgment concerning such, when thou didst appease them by games, and hast wished that the men by whom thou hast performed the same games should be infamous. Suffer thy liberty to be asserted against those unclean spirits, who have imposed upon thy shoulders their ignominy, to be consecrated and celebrated by thee. Thou hast removed the performers of the divine crimes from thy honours: beseech the true God, that He may remove from thee those gods who are delighted with their crimes, whether they be real (which is most ignominious) or false, which is most malicious. It is well that of thy own accord thou hast not wished that the fellowship of the state should be open to actors and scenic performers. Be more fully awake: in no way is the divine majesty appeased by those pursuits whereby human dignity is sullied. How, therefore, dost thou think that gods, who are delighted with such services, are to be considered in the number of the holy Heavenly powers, when thou hast thought that the men by whom those services are performed, are not to be held as in the number of any description of Roman citizens? The Heavenly city is incomparably more illustrious; where victory is truth—where dignity is holiness—where peace is happiness—where life is eternity. Far less has that kingdom such gods in its fellowship, if thou hast blushed to have such men in thine. Therefore, if thou desire to come to the blessed city, avoid the fellowship of demons. They, are unworthily worshipped by the virtuous who are propitiated by the base. Let

those be removed from thy piety by the Christian purification, even as the others have been removed from thy dignity by the censorial mark. But concerning carnal advantages, which alone the bad desire to enjoy, and concerning carnal evils, which alone they are unwilling to suffer; because neither in those matters have the demons the power which they are thought to have (although, even if they had that power, we ought rather to despise those things than to worship the demons on account of them), and that those who are to be worshipped cannot reach those things which they envy us, we shall nevertheless see next, that neither in those things have they that power which those think they have who contend that they should be worshipped for those things, that this may be the measure of that volume.

THE CONFESSIONS.

(BOOK IV., CH. V.)

Conversation with his mother concerning the kingdom of Heaven.

BUT the day being at hand on which she was about to depart from this life, which day Thou knewest while we were ignorant of it, it happened (as I believe), Thou disposing it, that I and she stood alone, leaning over a certain window, whence the garden within the house which held us was seen: there at Ostia, where remote, after the long labour of the journey, we were refreshing ourselves for our sail. We, therefore, conversed alone very sweetly, and, forgetting past things, having our minds applied to those things which are before us, we inquired within ourselves before the present truth, which Thou art, what would be the future life of the saints, which neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard, nor hath it ascended into the heart of man. But we gaped with the mouth of our heart after the supernal streams of thy fountain—of the fountain of life, which is with Thee—that being sprinkled thence according to our capacity, we should think of so great a matter in any way *we could*.

And when the conversation was drawn to this end, that this delectation of the senses of the flesh in any degree of corporeal light, in presence of *Thy* sweetness did not appear worthy of comparison, nay, not even of mention; raising ourselves up with more ardent affection to the self same, we walked step by step

over all corporeal things, and over the Heaven itself, whence the sun and moon and stars shine upon the Earth. And then we reascended interiorly, by thinking and speaking and admiring thy works,[160] and we come to our own minds, and we rise above those, that we might attain to the region of unfailing fruitfulness, where thou dost feed Israel for ever with the food of truth, and where wisdom is the life by which all those things are made, and *by which are made* all things that were and are to be; and *that life* itself is not made, but exists ever as it was, and as it always will be,—or rather, past, or future, is not in that life, but simply existence, because it is eternal: for past and future are not eternity.[161] And while we speak, and strain after that *life*, we in some degree reached it with the entire impulse of our heart, and we sighed, and we left transported here the first fruits of our spirit, and returned to the noise of our own mouth, where our word is begun and ended. And what is like unto our Lord thy Word, remaining in Himself without old age and making all things new?

We, therefore, said: if the tumult of the flesh be silent for any one, let the appearances of the earth, and of the waters, and of the air also, be silent; let the skies be silent, and let the soul herself be silent to herself, and pass herself over by not thinking of herself; let dreams and imaginary revelations and every tongue and sign be silent; and let whatever happens in passing *be silent*, if it can be altogether silent to any one; since, if any one listen, all those things say: "We have not made ourselves, but He hath made us who endureth for ever". These things being said: if they be now silent, since they have raised their ear to Him who made those things, that He who made those may speak alone not through those things, but through Himself, that we may hear His voice, not through the tongue of flesh, nor through the voice of an angel, nor through the noise of a cloud, nor through the enigma of a likeness, but that we may hear without those things Him whom we love in those things; as we have now extended ourselves, and have touched in rapid thought the eternal wisdom remaining over all things, if this be kept up, and if other visions of a far inferior kind be withdrawn, and if this one vision carry away and absorb and store up its spectator with inward joys, so that everlasting life be such as was this moment of understanding after which we have sighed; is not this: Enter into the joy of thy Lord? And when *shall* this *be fulfilled?* Is it when we shall all rise, but shall not all be changed?

I was saying such things, and, if not in this manner and in

those words, Thou knowest, O Lord, that upon that day when we were speaking such things, and the world, with all its delights, grew despicable to us in our conversation, then she says: Son, as far as regards me, I am now delighted with nothing in this life. What I shall do here, and why I am here, I know not, the hope of this world being now exhausted. There was one thing on account of which I wished to linger a little in this life, that I might see thee a Catholic Christian before I should die. My God has given me this even more lavishly, that I should even see thee His servant, earthly happiness being despised by thee. What am I doing here?

(CHAPTER XI.)

Concerning the Ecstasy and Death of his Mother.

I DO not sufficiently call to mind what answer I gave her regarding those things. When in the mean time, within hardly five days or not much more, she lay ill with fever. And while she was sick she one day suffered a faint, and was a little withdrawn from those present. We ran together, but she was soon restored to consciousness; and she looked at myself and my brother standing near, and says to us, like one as it were making an inquiry, Where was I? Then looking upon us, thunder-stricken with sorrow, "You shall lay your mother here", she says. I was silent and bridled my grief. But my brother spoke something to the effect, that he should wish her to die not upon the journey, but in her own country, as more happily. Which being heard, she, with an anxious countenance, fixing her eyes upon him,[*161] because he should have such an idea, and then looking upon me: "Observe", she says, "what he says". And then to both *of us*, "Lay this body", she says, "anywhere; let no care of it disturb you. I barely ask this of you, that at the altar of God you be mindful of me when you shall be there".

And when she had unfolded this desire in what words she could, she was silent, and was racked by the disease now increasing in severity. But I thinking upon Thy gifts, O God, which Thou sendest into the hearts of Thy faithful, and thence admirable fruits proceed, rejoiced and returned thanks to Thee, calling to mind what I knew, namely, with what anxiety she had always been in commotion about her sepulchre, which she had provided for herself, and prepared beside the body of her husband. For,

because they had lived very unitedly, she also wished (as is *the wont of* the human mind, when not altogether intelligent of things divine) that it should be mentioned by men, that it had been granted to her after her journey beyond seas, that the bodies of both consorts should be covered by the kindred earth.

But I did not know when it was that by the fulness of Thy goodness this emptiness had begun not to be in her heart, and I rejoiced admiringly that she had so opened it to me. Although in that conversation also at the window, when she said, "What am I doing here now?" she did not appear to wish to die in her country, I heard afterwards also that when we were at Ostia she spoke in motherly confidence with some friends of mine about the contempt of this life and the advantage of death, when I myself was not present, and while they were in astonishment at the fortitude of the woman which Thou hadst given to her, and inquiring whether she would not fear to leave her body so far from her own city. "Nothing", said she, "is far from God: nor is it to be feared that at the end of the world He will not know whence He shall raise me to life". Therefore, on the ninth day of her sickness, in the fifty-sixth year of her age, and in the thirty-third year of my age, that pious and religious soul was released from the body.

(CHAP. XII.)

How he mourned the death of his mother.

I CLOSED her eyes, and a great sorrow flowed into my inmost heart and overflowed into tears, and in the same place my eyes under the violent command of my mind, again sucked in their fountain even to dryness, and in such a struggle it fared very ill with me. But then, indeed, when she had breathed her last breath, the boy Adeodatus cried aloud in lamentation, and restrained by all of us, was silent. In this way also the something puerile in me, that was falling into tears by the youthful voice of his heart, was restrained, was silent. For we did not think it becoming that that funeral should be solemnized by tearful complaints and groans, because a certain unhappiness of the dying, or as it were a complete extinction, is usually deplored with these. But she neither died miserably nor did she die altogether. We held this both by the evidence of her morals, and by her unfeigned faith and by assured reasons.

What, therefore, was it which grievously suffered within me, unless it were the raw wound from the sweetest and dearest habit of living together suddenly broken asunder? I also congratulated myself upon the testimony *which she rendered to me*, because in that very last illness, recognizing my attention by caresses, she called me dutiful, and mentioned with a great feeling of love, that she had never heard from my mouth a harsh and contumacious word cast against her. But still, my God who hast made us, what like or what comparable *element* had the honour paid by me to her and the honour preserved by her to me? Since, therefore, I was deserted by her so great consolation, my soul was wounded, and my life, which had become one life, *made up* out of mine and hers, was as it were torn asunder. The boy being, therefore, restrained from that weeping, Evodius caught up the Psalter, and began to sing a psalm. To which all the house replied, "I shall sing mercy and judgment to Thee, O Lord". But hearing what was being done, there came together many brethren and religious women, and while they whose business it was, were attending to the funeral after the *usual* way, I in a part of the house where I could do so with propriety, along with those who did not think that I should be left alone, discussed what was suitable to the time, and with this fomentation of truth appeased the torture known to Thee, they not knowing it, and listening attentively and thinking that I was without a feeling of grief. But I in Thy hearing, when no one of them was listening, rebuked the softness of my feeling, and constrained the flow of my sorrow, and it yielded a little to me, and again was borne by its impetus, not to the bursting forth of tears nor to the change of countenance, but I knew what I was keeping down in my heart. And because it was vehemently distressing to me, that these human *feelings* which in the due course and lot of our condition must necessarily happen, should have so much power over me, I grieved over my own grief with another grief, and was wasted with a double grief.

Behold when the body is carried forth, we go and return without tears. For neither in those prayers which we poured out to Thee when the sacrifice of our redemption was being offered for her, the corpse being now placed beside the sepulchre, before it should be deposited therein, as it is the custom there; neither during those prayers did I weep, but during the whole day, I was grievously sad in secret; and in my disturbed mind I asked Thee as well as I was able, wherewith Thou wouldst cure my grief; nor didst Thou do so, commending, as I believe, to my

recollection, even by this one lesson, the entire bond of our association, even against *the wish of* my mind, which is now fed by thy word, which does not deceive. It even appeared to me that I should go to bathe, because I had heard that for this reason their name was given to baths, because the Greeks called a bath Βαλανεῖον, as it draws anxiety from the mind. And behold I confess this to Thy mercy, O Father of orphans, that I bathed, and was afterwards exactly as I had been before I had bathed. For neither did the bitterness of sorrow exude from my heart.

Then I slept and I awoke, and I found my grief mitigated in no small degree, and as I was alone in my bed I recollected the truthfulness of Thy Ambrose, for Thou art "God, the Creator of all things, and ruler of the sky, clothing the day with becoming light and the night with drowsy grace, that repose may restore the relaxed limbs to the use of labour, and may relieve the weary minds and relax anxious sorrows".

And then I gradually brought back into my old feeling, Thy handmaid and her pious conversation towards thee, and her piously kind and considerate conversation towards us, of which I was suddenly deprived, and it pleased me to weep in Thy presence, about her and for her, about myself and for myself. And I let loose the tears which I held, that they might flow as they wished, strewing them under my heart, and it rested in them, since these were Thy tears, not those of any man proudly interpreting my weeping.

And now, O Lord, I confess to Thee in writing. Let him read who may wish, and let him interpret how he may wish. And should he find it a sin that I bewailed my mother for a small part of an hour, my mother just dead to my eyes, who had wept for me many years that I might live to Thy eyes, let him not mock; but rather, if he be of great charity, let him weep for my sins, to Thee, the Father of all the brethren of Thy Christ.

(CHAP. XIII.)

He prays for his deceased Mother.

But I, my heart being now healed of that wound, in which the carnal affection might be blamed, pour out to Thee, O God, for that servant of thine a far different kind of tears, which flows from a shaken spirit by the consideration of the danger of every soul which dies in Adam. Although she being quickened in

Christ, even while not yet relieved from the flesh, lived in such a way that Thy name is praised for her faith and morals; nevertheless, I do not venture to say, that from the time when Thou didst regenerate her by baptism, no word went forth from her mouth contrary to Thy command. And it has been said by the Truth, Thy Son: "If any man shall say to his brother, thou fool, he will be guilty of Hell fire"; and: woe also to the man of praiseworthy life, if mercy being removed, Thou dost examine him. But because Thou dost not inquire into offences rigorously, we confidently hope for some place with Thee. But who enumerates his true merits to thee, who enumerates to thee anything but Thy own gifts? Oh! if men but knew themselves as men: and he who glories, let him glory in the Lord.

I, therefore, my praise and my life, the God of my heart, having put aside for awhile her good actions, for which joyfully I return thanks to Thee, now pray to Thee for the sins of my mother. Hear me through the healing of our wounds, which hung upon the wood *of the cross*, and, sitting at Thy right hand, addresses Thee for us. I know that she wrought mercifully, and from her heart forgave their debts to her debtors: forgive Thou also her debts, if she have contracted any during so many years after the water of salvation. Forgive, O Lord, I beseech Thee, forgive. Do not enter into judgment with her. Let mercy be exalted over judgment, since Thy speeches are true, and Thou hast promised mercy to the merciful. Which, that they should be, Thou hast given to them; Thou who wilt have compassion upon her to whom Thou hast been compassionate, and wilt extend mercy to her to whom Thou hast been merciful. And I believe that Thou wilt have already done what I ask thee. But, O Lord, approve this the voluntary offering of my mouth.

For she, when the day of her dissolution was at hand, did not concern herself that her body should be sumptuously covered, or that it should be embalmed with spices; nor did she covet her chosen monument, or care for her home sepulchre. She did not give us those commands, but only desired that mention should be made of her at Thy altar, at which she had attended without the passing over of one day, whence she knew to be dispensed the sacred victim, by which was blotted out the hand-writing that was against us, by which the enemy was triumphed over, *the enemy* who calculates our offences, and seeks what he may object to us, and finds nothing in Him in whom we have conquered. Who shall restore to the victim this innocent blood? Who, in order that he may take us from Him, shall restore to Him the

price wherewith He has bought us. To the sacrament of which redemption of ours Thy handmaid bound her soul by the bond of faith.

Let no one break her away from Thy protection. Let not the lion and the dragon place himself between her and thee by force nor by stratagem. For neither will she answer that she owes nothing, lest she be refuted and obtained by the cunning accuser, but she will answer that her sins have been forgiven by Him to whom no one will pay back that which He who owed nothing paid for us. Let her, therefore, be in peace with her husband, before whom she was married to none, and after whom she was married to none, whom she served, bearing fruit to thee with endurance, that she might give him also to thee. And inspire, O Lord my God, thy servants, my brethren, thy children, my lords, whom I serve with heart and voice and writings, that they be mindful at Thy altar of Monica, Thy servant, together with Patrick, formerly her husband, through the flesh of whom Thou hast introduced me into the world in what way I know not. Let them be mindful with dutiful affection of my parents in this transitory life, and of my brothers, under Thee, my father in the Catholic Church, and of my fellow-citizens in the eternal Jerusalem, after which the wanderings of Thy people sigh, from their going out even to their return: that her last request to me may be more plentifully granted to her in the prayers of many, as well through my confessions as through my prayers.

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SAINT JEROME.

TO THE MONK HELIODORUS.

With how much love and earnestness I struggled that we might remain together in the desert, thy breast, conscious of our mutual charity, acknowledges. With what lamentations, with what grief, with what groaning, I followed thee departing, this letter is a witness, which thou seest blotted with tears. But thou, like a delicate little child, hast cherished contempt of him, who solicited thee, through his *very* caresses; but I, incautious as I was, did not then know what I was doing. Should I be silent? I could not dissemble by moderation what I ardently desired. Should I beseech thee more pressingly? Thou wert unwilling to hear, because thou didst *not* love equally. My spurned affection did the

one thing that it could. Him whom it could not detain when present, it now seeks when absent. Since thou thyself also, when going away, didst ask that, after I should have gone to the desert, I should send letters of invitation, and I promised that I would do so; I do invite; now hasten. I do not wish that thou shouldst remember thy old necessities: the desert loves the naked: I do not wish that the difficulty of the old journey should terrify thee. Thou who believest in Christ, believe also in His words. "Seek first the kingdom of Heaven, and all these things will be added unto you". There is no scrip, no staff to be taken by thee. He is abundantly rich who is poor with Christ.

But what am I doing? again, inconsiderate, am I beseeching: let prayer begone; let caresses depart. My injured love should feel angry. Thou who hast despised me soliciting, mayest, perhaps, attend to me rebuking. What art thou doing in thy father's house, O thou dainty soldier? Where is the rampart? where the ditch? where the winter spent in the camp? Behold, the trumpet sounds from Heaven; behold the Commander about to conquer the world, comes forth armed along with the clouds; behold the two-edged sword, issuing from the mouth of the King, mows down everything that it meets, and yet thou comest forth from the bed-room to the ranks, from the shade to the sun. Thy body, accustomed to tunics, does not bear the weight of the corslet. Thy head, covered with linen, refuses the helmet. The hard hilt frets thy hand, soft from idleness. Listen to the edict of thy King: "He who is not with with me is against me, and he who gathereth not with me scattereth". Recollect the day of thy noviceship, on which, buried along with Christ in baptism,—thou hast sworn to the words of the oath of fealty, that for His name's sake thou wouldst not spare thy father or thy mother. Behold, the adversary endeavours to slay Christ in thy breast; behold, the hostile camp sighs after the largess which thou didst receive when about to serve.

Why art thou a Christian with a timid spirit? Look back upon the net abandoned by Peter; look back at the publican rising from the tax office, and at once made an apostle. The Son of Man hath not where to lay His head; and thou measurest out ample porticos and great areas of buildings. Expecting the inheritance of the world, thou canst not be the co-heir of Christ. Explain the word monk. What art thou doing in the crowd, who art alone? And I admonish thee of this, I, an experienced sailor, not with my net or freight whole, nor, as it were, ignorant of the waves, but, as it were, lately cast by shipwreck

upon the shore, with a timid voice I give my warning to those about to sail. In this boiling of the waves the Charybdis of luxury devours salvation. There, with her virginal face, Scylla, as smiling lust, flatters unto effecting the shipwreck of chastity. Here is the barbarous coast; there the Devil, *as* the pirate, with his companions, carries chains for those who are to be taken. Do not trust *to the sea;* do not be secure. Although the *watery* plain spread out, smiles after the manner of a lake,—although the topmost surface of the level element is hardly curled by the breeze; this field has great mountains; within is danger shut up; within is the enemy. Get ready the cables; hang the sails. Let the standard of the cross be fixed upon your brows: this tranquillity is in fact a tempest.

But perhaps thou art about to say: What therefore? Whoever are in the world, are they not to *be reckoned* Christians? The same course of action does not exist for thee as for the others. Attend to the Lord, saying: "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and come follow me". But thou hast promised that thou wouldst be perfect; for when, having abandoned the military service, thou didst castrate thyself for the kingdom of Heaven, what else than the perfect life didst thou follow? But the perfect servant of Christ has nothing else than Christ; or if he have anything else than Christ, he is not perfect; and if he be not perfect, when he has promised to God that he would be perfect, he has lied before God—"for the mouth that lieth killeth the soul". Therefore, that I may conclude, if thou be perfect, why dost thou desire thy patrimony? If thou be not perfect, thou hast deceived thy Lord.

O desert blooming with the flowers of Christ! O solitude, in which those stones are formed from which in the Apocalypse the city of the great King is built! O desert, familiarly rejoicing with God! What art thou doing in worldly life, O brother, who art greater than the world? How long will the shadows of dwellings keep thee down? How long does the prison of smoky cities shut thee in? Believe me, I know not why I see anything more of the light of day. I should be delighted, having cast off the burthen of the body, to fly away to the pure lustre of the sky. Dost thou fear poverty? Yet Christ calls the poor blessed. Art thou terrified by labour? Still no athlete is crowned without sweat. Dost thou think of food? Faith does not fear hunger. Dost thou fear to strike thy limbs, eaten away by fasting, against the naked earth? But the Lord lies with thee. Is the undressed hair of thy squalid head dreadful to

thee? But Christ is thy head? Does the boundless waste of the desert terrify thee? Well, do thou walk through Paradise in thy mind: as often as thou shalt have ascended thither in thought, so often thou wilt not be in the desert. A filthy skin is contracted without the *use of* baths; but it is not necessary for him who has once been washed in Christ to bathe again. And, that *I may speak* shortly, hear the apostle answering to everything: "The sufferings", he says, "of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come that shall be revealed in us". Thou art delicate, my brother, and if here thou wish to rejoice with the world, thou canst not afterwards reign above with Christ.

It will come, the day will come on which this corruptible and mortal body shall put on incorruption and immortality. Then blessed will be the servant whom the Lord shall find watching. Then the earth with its inhabitants shall tremble at the sound of the trumpet, and thou wilt rejoice. The world will mourn sorrowfully at the Lord about to judge it, and tribe upon tribe will smite their breasts. Those who were once most powerful kings will palpitate with unprotected side. Venus, with her offspring, will be exhibited; then Jupiter will be brought forward on fire, as will the foolish Plato with his disciples. The arguments of Aristotle will not avail. Then thou, rustic and poor, wilt exult and wilt laugh, and wilt say: Behold my crucified one: behold the judge, who, wrapped up in swaddling clothes, cried in the manger. Here is He, the son of the labourer and of the work-woman. This is He who, carried in His mother's bosom, God as He was, fled *from* man into Egypt; this is He who was clad in *the* purple *cloak;* this is He who was crowned with thorns; this is *He who was said to be* a magician, and one having a Devil, and a Samaritan. Behold, O Jew, the hands which thou didst pierce; behold, O Roman, the side which thou didst transfix. Behold ye the body, and see whether it be the same which you said that the disciples took away privately in the night.

Thy love has compelled me, O brother, that I should say those things to thee. And that it may be thy lot to take part in those things *to come*, attempt *those things* in which the labour is now hard.

TO EUSTOCHIUM CONCERNING THE DEATH OF HER MOTHER.

If all the members of my body were to be turned into tongues, and all my limbs were to resound with the human voice, I could

say nothing worthy of the virtues of the holy and venerable Paula. She was noble in race, but much more noble in holiness; formerly powerful in riches, but now more illustrious for the poverty of Christ; the stock of the Gracchi, the offspring of the Scipios, the heiress of Paulus, whose name she takes; the true and direct progeny of Martia Papyria, the mother of Africanus; preferred Bethlehem to Rome, and exchanged roofs glittering with gold for the meanness of unsightly mud.

I call to witness Jesus and His saints, and the very angel who was the guardian of this admirable woman, that I am saying nothing for compliment, nothing after the manner of flatteries; but that whatever I am about to say, I speak as a testimony, and that it is less than the deserts of her whom the whole world sings, whom the priests admire, whom the choirs of virgins yearn after, whom the crowds of monks and of the poor bewail. Dost thou wish, O reader, shortly to know her virtues? She sent away all her own relatives poor, she herself being poorer. Nor is it wonderful that I should state those things concerning her kinsfolk and household which she had changed, in both sexes, from servants and hand-maidens in brethren and sisters; when she left Eustochium, the virgin, and her daughter devoted to Christ, for whose consolation this book is composed, far from her noble race and rich in faith and grace alone.

After her husband died she so bewailed him that she herself almost died; she so turned herself to the service of the Lord that she appeared to have wished for his death. Why must I mention almost all the riches of a house, affluent and formerly most opulent, laid out upon the poor? Why *should I mention* that spirit most merciful to all, and that goodness, wandering even towards those whom she had not known? Which one of the needy when dying was not wrapped in her clothes? Which one of the bed-ridden sick, was not supported from her means? Whom when she sought out most inquiringly throughout the entire city, she considered it a loss if any one weak and hungry should be supported by the food of another than herself. She stripped her own children; and amidst her upbraiding relations, she said that she left to them a greater inheritance *than her own*, *namely*, the merits of Christ.

Nor could she long endure the visits and the throng of her kinsfolk exalted in the world, and of her most noble family. She grieved at her own honour, and hastened to avoid and to fly from the mouths of those who praised her. And when on account of some disagreements of the churches, the imperial letters had

drawn together the bishops of the east and of the west, to Rome, she saw those admirable men and pontiffs of Christ, Paulinus, the bishop of the city of Antioch; and Epiphanius, bishop of Salamina of Cyprus, which is now called Constantia; of whom she had also Epiphanius as her guest; and by her kindness, she possessed Paulinus as her own, although remaining in another house. Enkindled by the virtues of whom, at intervals she thought of abandoning her country. Not mindful of her house, not of her children, not of her family, not of her possessions, alone if it may be said, and unaccompanied, she desired to set out for the desert of the Antonys and the Pauls.

And at length the winter being spent, the sea being open, and the bishops returning to their churches, she herself in wish and in desire sailed along with them. Why do I put off any longer what I have to relate? She goes down to the port, her relatives by blood and by marriage, and what is greater than those, her children, following her and desiring to prevail over their most tender mother by affection. Now, the sails were spread, and the ship was being drawn into the deep by the leading of the oars. The little Toxotius upon the shore was stretching out his suppliant hands. Ruffina, now marriageable, silently besought her with tears that she should await her nuptials. And, nevertheless, she directed her dry eyes towards Heaven, overcoming her piety towards her children by her piety towards God. She knew herself not as a mother, that she might prove herself the handmaid of Christ. Her bowels were tortured, and she was torn asunder as it were in her members: she fought with grief, more admirable than all in this, that she overcame her great love. In the hands of the enemy and under the harsh necessity of captivity, nothing is more cruel than that parents should be separated from their children. Her perfect faith, contrary to the laws of nature, endured this, nay her mind rejoicing desired it, and contemning the love of her children by *reason of* her greater love of God, she reposed upon Eustochium alone, who was the companion of her purpose and of her passage. Meanwhile the ship furrowed the sea, and while all who were borne with her therein looked back at the shore, she held her eyes averted that she might not see those whom she could not see without torment. I admit no *mother* so loved her children, to whom, before she set out, she gave all *her possessions*, disinheriting herself upon the Earth, that she might find an inheritance in Heaven. * * * * * * *

What are we doing, O my soul? Why dost thou dread to come to her death? Long since the book is run to too great

length, while we fear to come to the last moments, as if while we are silent *about them*, and engaged in her praises, her death can be put off. Hitherto we have sailed with prosperous winds, and the gliding keel has furrowed the curling waters of the sea. Now our discourse runs upon the rocks, and by the swelling motions of the waves immediate shipwreck is threatened to both of us, so that we are forced to say: "Father, save us, we perish": and that also: "Arise, wherefore dost thou slumber, O Lord?" For who can describe with dry eyes Paula dying?

She fell into most grievous illness. Yea, she found that which she desired, that she might abandon us, and might be more fully joined to the Lord. In which illness the dutifulness of Eustochium, her daughter, always sufficiently proved in *the estimation of* her mother, was more thoroughly established for all. She herself sat by the bed side, held the fan, kept up *her mother's* head, placed the pillow under it, chafed her feet, warmed her stomach with her hand, arranged the couch softly, tempered the hot water, laid the napkin, anticipated all the duties of the handmaid, and regarded as withdrawn from her service whatever any other had done. With what prayers, with what lamentations and groans did she not run between her prostrate mother and the cavern of the Lord, *praying* that she might not be deprived of her companionship, that she might not live in her absence, that she might be carried on the same bier?

But, O fragile and decaying nature of mortals—were it not that the faith of Christ raises us to Heaven, and that eternity is promised to the soul, we have the same condition of body with the beasts of the field and with animals of burthen. There is the same death for the just and the wicked, for the good and the bad, for the clean and the unclean, for him who offers sacrifice, and for him who does not. As is the good man, so is he who sins; as is he who swears, so is he who fears an oath. Men and beasts of burthen are alike dissolved into ashes.

Why do I linger long, and make my grief more lasting by putting it off? That most sensible of women felt that death was at hand, and while the rest of her body and of her limbs was cold, she felt that the warmth of the soul alone was palpitating in her sacred breast; and nevertheless, as if she were going to her own and were leaving strangers, she whispered those verses: "Lord, I have loved the beauty of Thy house, and the place of the dwelling of Thy glory". "How lovely are Thy tabernacles, O Lord of virtues! my soul desires and faints after the courts of the Lord"; and "I have chosen to be lowly in the house of my

God, rather than to dwell in the tabernacles of sinners". And when she was questioned by me why she was silent, why she would not answer, whether she was in any pain, she answered in the Greek language that she had no trouble, but that she saw all things quiet and tranquil before her. After this she was silent, and with her eyes shut, as if she now despised mortal things, she repeated those verses until the breath was out of her soul, so that we could scarce hear what she was saying, and, holding her finger to her mouth, she marked the sign of the cross upon her lips. Her spirit was failing, and she was panting for death, and her soul, desiring to break forth, converted the very rattle by which the life of mortals ends, into the praises of the Lord. The bishops of Jerusalem and of other cities were present, and the inferior orders of priests were present. The choirs of virgins and of monks had filled the entire monastery. And as soon as she heard the Spouse calling: "Arise, my love, my dove, my beautiful one, and come, for winter is now past, the rain is gone", she joyfully answered: "The flowers have appeared in our land: the time of pruning is come"; and "I believe to see the good things of the Lord in the land of the living".

From henceforward *there were* no wailing nor lamentations, as are usual amongst the men of this world, but the swarms of those present resounded with psalms in various tongues. And being removed by the hands of the bishops, and by those placing their shoulders under the bier, while other pontiffs were carrying lamps and wax tapers, and others led the choirs of psalmodists, she was laid in the middle of the church of the cave of the Saviour. The entire multitude of the cities of Palestine assembled at her funeral. Whom of the monks lying concealed in the desert did his cell hold on that day? Which of the virgins did the recesses of their chambers cover? He who had not rendered the last offices to such a woman regarded it as a sacrilege. The widows and the poor showed the garments given by her after the manner of Dorcas. The entire multitude of the needy exclaimed that it had lost its mother and its nurse. And what is wonderful, the pallor *of death* had in no degree changed her face, but a certain dignity and gravity so filled her countenance that thou wouldst have thought she was not dead but sleeping. Psalms resounded in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syriac languages, not only during the three days *intervening* until she was laid under the church and near the cave of the Lord, but through the entire week; all who came believing that it was their own funeral, and that the tears were their own. The venerable virgin her daugh-

ter Eustochium, as if weaned upon her mother, could not be taken away from her parent; she kissed her eyes, she clung to her countenance, she embraced her whole body, and wished to be buried with her mother.

Jesus is witness that not even one coin was left by her to her daughter, but that, as I have said, a very large debt was left, and what was more difficult to be dealt with, an immense multitude of the brethren and sisters, whom to maintain is difficult, and whom to cast off were impious. What is more admirable than this virtue, that a woman of the noblest family and at one time of great riches, should have lavished all her resources with so great faith that she should reach almost the last *degree of* want. Let others boast their coins, and their money heaped into the treasury of God, and their gifts hanging from golden cords. No one gave more to the poor than she, who reserved nothing for herself. Now she enjoys those riches and those good things which "neither eye hath seen nor ear hath heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man *to conceive*". Let us rather bewail our own lot, for we shall seem to envy her glory if we wish to bewail any longer her who reigns.

Be confident, Eustochium, thou hast been endowed with a great inheritance. The Lord is thy portion, and, in order that thou mayest the more fully rejoice, thy mother has been crowned by a long martyrdom. For it is not the shedding of blood only that is ranked as a confession, but the immaculate service of a devout mind is also a daily martyrdom. The former crown is composed of roses and violets, the latter of lilies, whom also it is written in the canticle of canticles: "My brother's son is white and ruddy", assigning the same rewards to those who conquer in war and to those who conquer in peace. Thy mother heard along with Abraham the word: "Go forth from thy land and from thy kindred, and come into the land which I shall show thee". And *she heard the Lord commanding:* "Fly ye from the midst of Babylon, and save your souls". And up to the day of her death she did not return into Chaldea, nor did she desire the *flesh*-pots of Egypt nor the odours of the meats; but, accompanied by the choirs of virgins, she became a fellow-citizen of the Saviour, and ascending the Heavenly kingdom from the little Bethlehem, she says to the true Noemi: "Thy people is my people, and thy God is my God".

I have dictated this book for thee, to the extent of two sittings with the same grief which thou dost endure. For as often as I wished to apply my stylus, so often did my fingers stiffen, my

hand drop, and my senses languish. Whence also my unpolished discourse attests the desire of the writer without any elegance and grace of words.

Farewell, O Paula, and assist with thy prayers the extreme old age of thy client.[162] Thy faith and thy works associate thee with Christ. Present *in his court* thou wilt more easily obtain what thou demandest.

III.—TO VIGILANTIUS.

Who at any time adored the martyrs? Did not Paul and Barnabas rend their garments, and say that they were men, when they were thought to be Jupiter and Mercury by the Lycaonians, and the latter wished to immolate victims to them? It was not that they were not better than Jupiter and Mercury, men long dead, but, under the error of paganism, the honour due to God would be paid to them. Which same thing we read concerning Peter also, who raised with his hand Cornelius desiring to adore him, and said: "Arise, for I also am a man". And thou darest to say: "That thing, I know not what, which thou worshippest in a little vessel to be moved from place to place". What is that "Nescio quid", I wish to know? Explain openly, that thou mayest blaspheme with all liberty. "I know not what little particle of dust", he says, "wrapped up in precious linen in a little vessel". He grieves that the relics of the martyrs should be covered with a precious veil, and should not be tied up in rags or sackcloth, and flung up the dung-hill, so that Vigilantius alone, drunk and sleeping, may be adored. Therefore, we are sacrilegious when we enter the basilicas of the apostles! The emperor Constantine was sacrilegious, who transferred the holy relics of Andrew, Luke, and Timothy to Constantinople, before which relics the demons and the occupiers of Vigilantius bellow, and confess that they feel their presence! And now Arcadius Augustus is to be called sacrilegious, who after a long time has transferred the bones of blessed Samuel from Judæa into Thrace! All the bishops are to be esteemed not only sacrilegious but infatuated, who have carried a most contemptible thing and ashes in dissolution, in silk and in a golden vase. The people of all the Churches are foolish who have run to *meet* the holy relics, and have received them with as much joy as if they saw the living prophet, so that the swarms of people were joined together

from Palestine to Chalcedon, and resounded with one voice in praise of Christ. Forsooth we are to suppose that they adored Samuel, and not Christ, whose prophet and Levite he was. Thou suspected a dead man, and therefore dost thou blaspheme. Read the Gospel. "The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob is not the God of the dead, but of the living". If, therefore, they live, according to thee, they are not enclosed in a decent prison. For thou sayest that the souls of the martyrs have settled either in the bosom of Abraham, or in the place of refreshment, or under the altar of God, and that they cannot be present at hand outside of their tombs and where they wish. *We are to suppose that* they are of senatorial dignity, so that they are shut up not amongst homicides in darkest dungeon, but in free and honourable custody in the islands of the fortunate and in the Elysian fields. Dost thou lay down a law for God? Dost thou throw chains upon the apostles, so that they be kept in custody until the day of judgment, and that they be not with their Lord, concerning whom it is written, "They follow the Lamb wherever He goeth?" If the Lamb be everywhere, therefore they who are with the Lamb must be believed to be everywhere. And while the Devil and the demons wander throughout the world, and are present everywhere with only too great swiftness, the martyrs, after the effusion of their blood, are hidden, shut up in their coffins, and cannot issue thence. Thou sayest in thy book, that while we are alive we can mutually pray for each other, but that after we shall have died, the prayer of no one is to be heard for another, especially since the martyrs' prayers for the avenging of their blood have not been able to obtain it. If the apostles and the martyrs while still existing in the body can pray for others, while they must yet be anxious for themselves, how much more can they pray for others, after their crowns, their victories, and their triumphs! One man, Moses, obtains pardon from God for six hundred thousand armed men; and Stephen, the minister of his Lord, and the first martyr in Christ, solicits pardon for his persecutors. *Must we believe that*, after they have begun to be with Christ, they will be less powerful? Paul, the apostle, tells us that two hundred and seventy-six souls were granted to him in the ship; and it is after he shall have begun to be dissolved with Christ that he shall begin to close his lips. He cannot be dumb for those who in the whole world have believed in His gospel.

Dost thou call us idolaters? I do not deny that all we who believe in Christ have come out of the errors of idolatry, for we are not born Christians; we become Christians by being born

again; and because formerly we worshipped idols, now, *according to this argument*, we are not to worship God, lest we may appear to venerate Him with the like honour wherewith idols are venerated. That was done in the case of idols, and is therefore to be detested; this is done in the case of the martyrs, and is therefore to be admitted; for even in the absence of the relics of the martyrs, throughout whole Churches of the East, when the Gospel is to be read, lights are kindled while the sun is shining, not for the purpose of dispelling darkness, but for exhibiting a sign of gladness. * * * * Therefore the Bishop of Rome does ill, who offers sacrifices to the Lord over the bones, according to us venerable, of dead men, Peter and Paul, but according to thee a vile grain of dust, and regards their tombs as the altars of Christ; and not only the *bishop* of our city, but the bishops of the entire Earth are in error, when, despising the tavern-keeper, Vigilantius, they enter the basilicas of the dead, and in which a most despicable dust, and I know not what ashes lies wrapped up in linen, that polluted, it may pollute all things, and as sepulchres of the Pharisees, *the sepulchres of the martyrs* are whited without, while within, according to thee, all things unclean, smell and are filthy with unclean ashes. And after these things vomiting forth from the gulf of thy breast thy muddy filth, thou darest to say: Therefore the souls of the martyrs love their ashes, and fly around them, and are always present, lest by chance if any one come to pray, they being absent should not hear him! O portent to be transported to the utmost ends of the Earth! Thou dost laugh concerning the relics of the martyrs, and with Eunomius, the author of this heresy, thou scatterest calumny through the Churches of Christ, and art not deterred by such an alliance from saying the same thing against us that he says against the Church. For all his followers refuse to enter the basilicas of the apostles and martyrs, in order that they may adore the dead Eunomius, whose books they regard as of greater authority than the gospels, and they believe that in him is the light of truth, as other heresies contend that the Paraclete came into Montanus, and say that Manes himself was the Paraclete. Tertullian, a most learned man, has written against thy heresy, which formerly broke out against the Church (so that neither in this mayest thou glory as the discoverer of a new wickedness), a remarkable volume, which he calls "Scorpiacum", by a most appropriate name, because this heresy, which was formerly called the heresy of Cain, as it were by an arched wound has diffused its poison through the body of the Church, and for a long time sleep-

ing or buried, has now been revived by Dormitantius. I wonder thou dost not say that martyrdom should by no means have been perpetrated; for that God, who does not seek for the blood of goats and oxen, is still farther from requiring the blood of men, which, when thou wilt have said, nay though thou shalt not have said it, thou wilt be regarded as if thou hadst said it; for thou who dost assert that the relics of the martyrs are to be trodden under foot, dost forbid that blood should be shed which is worthy of no honour.

SAINT VINCENT OF LERINS.

Commonitorium.

But, perhaps, some one will say: Will there be endured, therefore, no progress of religion in the Church of Christ? Evidently such advancement must be had, and the very utmost advancement. For who is so envious of man and so odious to God, as to attempt to forbid that? but, nevertheless, it must be so, that it be a true progress, and not a change of faith, since it belongs to progress that each thing be enlarged into itself, but to change, that one thing be altered into another. Let, therefore, the understanding, the knowledge, the wisdom, as well of individuals as of all, as well of one man as of the entire Church, according to the degrees of ages and centuries, increase as it ought, and advance much and strenuously; but let it be all the while in its own kind, that is to say, in the same dogma, in the same sense, in the same opinion. Let the religion of the souls imitate the principle of the bodies, which, although in the course of years they develop and unfold their qualities, still remain the same as they were. There is a great difference between the bloom of boyhood and the maturity of old age. But they are the very same individuals who had been youths that become old men; and although the condition and habit of one and the same man be changed, nevertheless he is one and the same nature, one and the same person. The members of sucklings are small, those of youths are great, still they are the same. As many as are the limbs of the infant, so many are the limbs of the man, and if there be any of those matters which are produced in periods of mature age, they were already implanted in the principle of the seed; so that nothing is afterwards produced in the old man which had not previously lain

concealed in the boys. Whence it is not doubtful that this is the legitimate and right rule of advancing, this the admitted and most beautiful order of increase, if the proper period of the age discover always those parts and forms in adults which the wisdom of the Creator had originally woven into it. Should the human form afterwards be altered into some appearance not of its own kind, it is assuredly necessary that something be added to the number of the limbs, or that something be withdrawn from them, so that either the whole body be lost, or becomes monstrous, or certainly is weakened. Thus also is it fitting that the dogma of the Christian religion follow those laws of progress—that is, that it be consolidated by years, that it be developed by time, that it be raised in height by age, but that it still remain incorrupt and untouched, and that it be full and perfect, with all the dimensions of its parts, and as it were with its own senses and members, so that it admit nothing farther of change, and sustain no loss of identity, no variation of definition.

For example, our ancestors anciently sowed in the crop of the Church the seeds of wheaten faith; it is very unjust and incongruous that we, their descendants, should gather, instead of the real truth of corn, the substituted error of tares. But this rather is right and consistent, that the beginnings and the endings not differing from each other, we should reap from the increase of wheaten institution the fruit of wheaten dogma: so that, when anything be developed from the origin of those seeds, let it now also rejoice and be cultivated; nevertheless let nothing be changed from the character of the germ: although appearance, form, and distinction be added, let the nature, however, of each kind remain. For, far be it from us that rose-gardens of Catholic doctrine be changed into thistles and thorns. Forbid it, that in this spiritual paradise cockle and aconites come from the suckers of cinnamon and balsam. Whatever, therefore, in this Church of God, has been sown by the agricultural faith[163] of the fathers, let this same be cultivated and respected by the industry of the sons; let the same flourish and ripen; let the same advance and be advanced. For it is lawful that those ancient dogmas of Heavenly philosophy be made accurate, and filed and polished by the course of time; but it is criminal that they be changed, criminal that they be lopped, criminal that they be mutilated. It is allowable for them to receive evidence, light, and distinctness, but they must retain their fulness, their integrity, their propriety. For, if once this license of impious fraud be admitted, I shudder to say how great a danger follows of cutting down and abolish-

ing religion. For any part of a Catholic dogma being abandoned, another also, and likewise another, and then another and another, as if, according to custom and lawfully, will be abandoned. But then the parts *of the* dogma being repudiated one by one, what else follows at the end, but that the entire be repudiated in the same way? But also, on the other hand, if new *doctrine* begin to be mingled with old, foreign with native, and profane with sacred, it is inevitable that this custom must creep forward over the entire world, so that afterwards in the Church nothing will be left untouched, nothing unprofaned, nothing entire, nothing immaculate, but that in the same place henceforward will be the brothel of impious and disgraceful errors, where was before the sanctuary of chaste and incorrupt truth. But may the divine mercy avert this wickedness from the minds of His own children; let this rather be the madness of the impious. But the Church of Christ, the lawful and cautious guardian of the dogmas deposited with her, never changes anything in them, diminishes nothing, adds nothing, does not cut off what is necessary, does not lay on what is superfluous, does not lose what are hers, does not adopt what belong to strangers, but with all her industry aims at this one thing, that by faithfully and wisely handling ancient *doctrines*, if there be any of them unshapen and merely inchoate, she may make them accurate, and polish them; if there be any already expressed and declared, she may consolidate them; if there be any already confirmed and defined, she may guard them. In fine, what else did she ever labour *to accomplish* by the decrees of councils, than that what formerly was simply believed, should afterwards be more diligently believed; that what previously was laxly preached, should afterwards be more urgently preached; than that what had previously been cultivated with more freedom from apprehension, the same should afterwards be cultivated with more anxiety? This one thing I affirm, did the Catholic Church, when stirred up by the novelties of heretics, accomplish by the decrees of her councils, and nothing besides; unless that what she had originally received from the fathers by tradition only, that she should consign to her descendants by the hand-writing of letters; by including a great sum[164] of matters in a few letters, and for the most part, for sake of the clearness of understanding, by marking with the distinction of a new title the not new meaning of faith.

SAINT EUCHERIUS.

Concerning Contempt of the World.

THOSE are well bound by the bond of blood who are assimilated in the bond of love. Thus also is it allowed to us to glory much in this very gift of God, whom charity connects even as kindred, and whom two relationships draw together in one feeling; of which relationships we have received one from the parents of our flesh, and have taken the other from ourselves. This double bond by which we are connected, while kindred from this side, and love from that associate us, has compelled me to write[165] these things to you a little more at large, in order that I might commend the cause of thy soul to thy mind, and might assert that true blessedness, that blessedness capable of *enjoying* eternal things, which is the work of our profession.[166] For, inasmuch as I love thee equally with myself, I must wish thee to attain the highest good, as being another self. And, indeed, by thy pious disposition thou art not averse from the profession of a holy life, thou who by a previous goodness of morals hast anticipated, in many things, what the sacred rules teach, so that thou appearest to me to have taken possession of certain functions of religion, as if through a provident nature, by the indulgence of our God in this respect, whose favour it is that the divine doctrine should partly find its good fruits in thee, and partly confer them upon thee. But although, raised by thy father and thy father-in-law to the highest eminences of the world, thou art solicited by the illustrious titles *which thou derivest* from both, I nevertheless covet thee for the heights of a far greater honour, and I call thee to the dignity not of Earthly things, but of things Heavenly; not of the world, but of world *without end*. For this is an assured and indelible glory, to glory without end. I shall therefore speak to thee not the wisdom of the world, but that secret, that hidden wisdom which the Lord predestined before all ages for our glory. I shall speak to thee with much zeal for thee, very little regardful of myself, who have considered more what I could wish in thee, than what I could do in myself.

My dearest Valerian, it is the first duty of a man, formed and introduced into the light, to learn his own Maker, and to receive Him, when known, and to apply his life, that is, the divine gift, to the divine observance and worship, that what he has received from God may be consummated by the devotion of God, and that

what, though unworthy, he has received from the same God, as a subject he may pay to the same. Assuredly, we are directed by a sound opinion, that we should regard ourselves as it were brought up for Him even as by Him. Whence he plainly and magnificently understands the design of the Creator in making man, whosoever so understands it, as that God both made us Himself, and made us for Himself.

It is best, therefore, to devote the principal care to the soul, that that which is first in importance should not be last in consideration. Let those things which have the first importance obtain the first care from us, and let salvation, which is the highest of all, claim for herself the highest share of anxiety. Let this (*salvation*), not first merely, but alone, occupy her for the protection and safeguard of herself. Let her overcome all things with the same zeal wherewith she precedes all things. We owe the highest devotion to God, and then the greatest to the soul; and still the affair is thus,—that, whereas each is the principal object of devotion, it appears that neither can be attended to without the other. Thus, whoever shall have satisfied God must necessarily have consulted for his soul; and again, whoever shall have consulted for his soul, must necessarily have satisfied God. Thus concerning the supreme good, each matter, brought together by a profitable union, is carried out; so that if any one should have carefully fulfilled one duty will have discharged both, for, by the ineffable divine goodness, utility itself becomes the sacrifice of God. A great portion of care is bestowed upon the body, much labour is given to it in the hope of cure. Does not the soul deserve some medicine? And, if various aids are applied through the desire of preserving the health of the body, nevertheless it is not right that the soul should lie excluded, as it were, and as if neglected, should waste away in its diseases, and should alone be an exile from its proper remedies; nay, on the contrary, more *attentions* are to be directed to the soul, if so many are to be given to the body. For if, indeed, some have rightly said, that the flesh is the handmaid, but that the soul is the mistress, it is not right that we should have the mistress in the last place, and prefer the handmaid by an unjust rule. The better part deservedly requires greater zeal, because we should look thither with all our care where the more abundant dignity of our substance is placed. It is not proper that in this honour of our anxiety we should place that part *of us* beneath the inferior part. The flesh, indeed, inclined to sin, calls us back to the earth as to its origin; but this latter, coming from the

Father of light, rises to the higher *regions*, as it is the habit with fires to be borne *upwards*. This is in us the image of God; this is the precious pledge of the divine gift. Let us guard this with every resource we have; let us guard this with our utmost strength. If we govern and preserve this, we protect the deposit of God.

What room is there for building, unless thou shalt have laid the foundation? Salvation is the foundation for him who intends to build other structures above it. But how can any one add the things which follow, if he shall not even have possessed what go before? How shall he be enriched with the increase of the succeeding things, if he be deficient in the beginnings of what precede? How can he think that anything conduces to blessedness, when it is wanting to salvation? Being destitute of life, how can he abound in a happy life? Or what avails it if he add to his meats, not having from whence he may consult for his soul? Concerning which also our Lord Jesus Christ says: "For what doth it avail a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" Hence, there cannot exist any reason of gain, if it be certain that there intervene a loss of the soul. Where there is a loss of salvation, there is no gain. For how is gain derived, unless the place of deriving it be preserved unshaken? Wherefore while we have time, let us hasten to that true gain, let us hasten to seek that holy commerce. A few days may procure eternal life—which days, although they possessed the untouched and uncontaminated blessedness of life, nevertheless, because they were few, were to be despised. For nothing is great in fact which is small in duration; nor is anything which is enclosed within a narrow boundary extended in lengthened joys. Short advantages have a short profit of this world. Rightly, therefore, do the advantages of thy perpetual life appear to be preferred to the good of this short life; because the one is a temporal happiness, and the other an eternal happiness; because it were a frail thing to enjoy short advantages, a safe thing to rejoice in perpetual advantages. But now eternal life is happiest. For what can be mentioned happier than everlasting life? But this short life is of the shortest in such a way, that it is pressed upon all sides with the disadvantages of surrounding sufferings, and is fatigued by failing evils, while it is tossed by the injuries of the evils which befall *it*. For what is so faithless, so changeable, so calamitous, as is the course of this life, which is full of labour, full of anxiety, full of cares, full also of dangers themselves, and, distracted by doubtful occurrences,

becomes disturbed by the vexations of the body, anxious by the tortures of the mind, uncertain by the whirlwinds of dangers? What profit or what reason is there that eternal advantages should not be sought, and that our temporal evils should be pursued? Dost thou not see how, even in this life, each one who is provident repairs with large expenditure the place or the estate in which he thinks that he will reside for a long time, and that where any one will be for a short time he provides smaller things, and where he will be for a longer time he procures greater things? Because for us also at present the time is very short, its narrow space straitening us, whereas in future there will be ages, let us endow our eternal life with suitable riches; let us furnish our short life with resources suitable to itself; let us not by a perverse arrangement expend the greatest care upon the short time, and short care upon the greatest time.

And I by no means know what should force us more quickly or efficiently to this most blessed life,—whether it be the advantages themselves of the future life which are promised, or the disadvantages of the present life which are actually seen. From the one side the former most kindly excite us, from the other the latter vehemently disturb us. Therefore, while even the worst things are on the side of the latter part, if we be not enticed by the good things, we are pushed out by the evil. For the incitement of the better courses the best things chime in with the worse, and things different in nature concur to the *advancement of* the same utility. For, while some things invite us, other things drive us away: both solicit us to the better course.

For if any rich and illustrious man, about to adopt thee into the place of his children, were to summon thee, thou wouldst go through the opposing difficulties of circumstances, and carried through a journey of however distant a retirement, thou wouldst run thither. God, the Lord of the universe and of all things, calls thee unto His adoption, bestowing on thee, if thou wish, that kindly name of son, *the same* by which He calls our God His only one: and art thou not carried along inflamed? Speeding art thou not urged on, lest death hastening may by his quick meeting, snatch away the happy condition? And for obtaining this thou wilt not penetrate the pathless solitudes of the Earth, nor the uncertainties of a distant sea. When thou wilt wish, this adoption of thee is with thee. Will this thing find us slow and remiss, for the very reason that it is as speedy as it is greatest? For which reason dissemblers experience this condition more severely; for it is so much the more pernicious to those who refuse , as it is more prompt to those who wish it.

Certainly our desire of life is the thing which has bound us up in the delight of the present world. Therefore, loving life we are encouraged to life. It is a true reason for persuading, when the thing demanded is, that we obtain *your consent* from you, *that you may have* what you desire. We exercise an embassy on behalf of life, which you love, while we insinuate *an allusion to* the life which, short as it is, you all love, in order that you may love eternal life. Which how we may love, I know not, if we do not desire this which we do love to be as beautiful as possible. Therefore let this which pleases, narrow as it is, please more if it can be perpetual, and what has a value with us though it has an end, let it be beyond price for us if it can be without end. Let it be right, therefore, that the shorter life should provide for the greater, and that a passage may be constructed for us to the other, but through this; which, therefore, it does not become to interfere with the advantage of her comrade by deceitful designs. Let her not oppose herself so as to be an obstacle, so as to hurt, for it is absurd and contrary *to reason* that the love of life should cause detriment to life. Therefore, whether thou thinkest that this life is to be contemned or to be embraced, in both *events*, the course of my undertaking is easy. For if it be despised, there is but one reason of despising it—namely, that a better may be sought; and if it be loved, so much the more is that to be loved which is greater. I, however, would desire that thou wouldst hold this *life* according to its experience, and shouldst consider it full of troubles, and disturbed by uncertain fatigues as it is, and shouldst despise and reject it with its occupations.

Let this interminable chain of secular occupations be broken off, and this one labour throughout our entire life, concerning our many necessities. Let us burst the chains of empty cares, in the links of which succeeding each other thou art involved, in which our occupation is, as it were, ever beginning. Let those causes, as empty as they are clinging to each other, be removed, in which, as long as life lasts, the anxiety of mortals, while it is constantly being begun in affairs, is never ended. The indefatigable tension of which things, renders this life, short and narrow in itself, most narrow. By which also come now empty joys, now bitter griefs, now anxious desires, now suspected fears. Finally let all those things be flung aside which render the present life short for occupation, long for grief. Let us repudiate the life of this unfaithful world, in which life things exalted and humble are equally unsafe. The things depressed by lowliness are crushed,

the exalted things totter upon their eminence. Fix upon any condition thou pleasest, there is no resting there amongst the lowest or amongst the highest. Neither condition has escaped the grievous lot of the whirlwind. The lower lies under contumely, the higher under envy. There are two *seductions* in particular as I think, which hold men bound in the affairs of the world, and having flattered their senses, bind them captivated with enticing love; namely, the pleasure of riches and the dignity of honours, of which the former is not a pleasure but a want, the latter is to be called not dignity but vanity. Both of these, embracing the deceitful fellowship, hinder the step for those immeshed, in alternate ties, then pestiferously breathe flattering vices into human breasts by its desires, and tempt the wearied minds of mortals by their easy pleasantness.

And these things, however they be,—how fleeting, how frail they are! We have lately seen men conspicuous with honour to have sat upon the pinnacles of lofty dignities, and, their sense *of enjoyment* being spread upon all sides, to have extended their patrimonies throughout the world. They had gone beyond their covetousness by their successes; they had overpassed their desires by their realities. But I pass in review merely private instances of good fortune. Kings themselves, sublime with great command, have shone with gold and gems; their coverings, wonderful to be told, sparkled with interwoven metals; their diadems glittered at intervals with separate fires; their court was resplendent, furnished with palatial adornments, and their roofs glittered with gilded beams; their wills were called the rules of men; their words were called laws. Who over the head of men can take refuge in merely temporary happiness? Behold, that ostentation of theirs is nowhere; their superabounding riches have gone; they themselves, the masters of such riches, have passed away. There is now a certain story amongst us of recent and illustrious kings. All those things which then were great, now are non-existent. They have taken away with them, as I think,—nay, as I know,—nothing out of those riches, honours, and kingdoms, unless the substance of faith and piety, if there were any such in them. But this alone follows them, destitute of other things. This inseparable, and, as it were, faithful companion, accompanies them. They now hold those advantages in *the rank of* benefits. Wherefore, if we are taken with honours and riches, let us be excited by true riches, by true honours. Every man of greatest worth transfers his Earthly honours and Earthly riches to Heavenly honours and Heavenly riches; thither, indeed, where there is a

complete and unconfused division of the good and the bad; where what we once obtain, we shall always hold; where, if there be any means of obtaining, there will be none of losing.

But, since we have spoken concerning the frail possession of temporal advantages, something is also to be said by us concerning the condition of this short life itself. What is this, I ask, what is this? For, as men see death every day, so there is nothing which they so forget as death. The human race is driven forward by rapid mortality to its decline, and all posterity runs down by the law of succeeding ages. Our fathers have passed away: we will go: our descendants follow. Just as the tossings of the waves from the deep, one constantly following upon the other, are broken upon the verge of the shore, so the dropping ages are dashed upon the termination of death. This consideration—this recollection of our condition—resounds about us day and night. Let us think that the end of life, which is due by us, and which will approach the more it is put off, will be at hand from moment to moment. Let us hope that the day is near: we know not that it is distant. Let us prepare our ways, as it is written, for their issue. If we think upon those things, if we meditate those things, by fearing, we shall not fear death. Blessed are ye who have already reconciled yourselves to Christ. No great fear of death infects those who already desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ,—who, already prepared, already quiet, await in silence the last day of this life. For it does not much concern *those* who are passing into eternal life at what time they finish their temporal life. Let not the crowd of those who neglect eternal life, persuade us to the neglect of life, nor let us be led by the errors of others to the loss of our own salvation. Of what avail will the multitude *of companions* be in that judgment, in which individuals will be judged, where the sole examination is of merits, and where his acts, and not the people, will absolve each one? Let the ill-advising consolations of the struggle cease; let them cease. It is better to have continued life *unto eternity* with the minority, than to have lost it with the majority. And so let not the mere numerousness of sinners draw us to contemning of sins; nor let this circumstance, that others consult little for themselves, be rendered a kind of authority for us. I beseech thee look upon the crime of another always as a disgrace, never as an example.

And suppose we think fit to direct our eyes to examples—apply them rather to that part, in which, although there be fewer men, nevertheless they are abundant in their own part. Look to

that part, I say, in which those are who wisely understand wherefore they are born, and who, while they live, conduct the cause of their life,—who, illustrious for useful work and excelling for distinguished virtue, cultivate the present life and sow *the germs of* the future. And not only are there abundant examples of those, but even great *examples of those* are not wanting. For what nobility, what honours, what dignity, what wisdom, what eloquence, what literature of the world, have not already applied themselves to this warfare of the Heavenly kingdom? What sublimity is there which does not now submit itself with surrender to the light Heavenly yoke? And surely it is beyond all other error and ignorance, that each one should disguise from himself the business of his salvation. I might also, were it not too long, weave together by name many out of the innumerable individuals of men illustrious in this world, who have pursued this stricter life and observance of the divine worship,—of whom, however, I shall cursorily subjoin a few examples, that I may not completely omit all.

Clement from the ancient ancestry of the senators, and even from the stock of the Cæsars, filled with every science, and most skilled in every one of the liberal arts, passed over to this life of the just, and thus also flourished in it most excellently, and became also successor to the prince of the Apostles.

Gregory *comes next*, a priest from Pontus, foremost in philosophy in the world, and excelling in eloquence, but afterwards greater and more excelling by his virtues, so that, as the faith of our history speaks concerning this man, amongst the other admirable marks of his merits, a mountain is stated to have retired, and a lake to have dried up, at his prayers and supplications.

Another saint, and one also of the same name, a Gregory, equally given to letters and philosophy, desired this Heavenly philosophy, of whom also this fact (because it has reference to the subject) seems by no means to be suppressed; that having entered the lecture-room of Basil, who had formerly been his friend in secular studies, and was still engaged in the profession of rhetoric, he took him by the hand and withdrew him from the school, saying: Lay aside those things, and attend to thy salvation. And afterwards each was an illustrious priest, and each left illustrious monuments of his genius in the books of our Church.

Paulinus also, the Bishop of Nola, the peculiar and blessed example of our Gaul, formerly with an immense fortune of riches, and a most prolific spring of eloquence, so passed over into our opinion and purpose, that he has quite bedewed all parts of the world with his eloquence and works.

Hilarius lately, and now Petronius, bishop in Italy, both from that richest seat, as they say, of worldly honour, ascended, the one to the name of religion, and the other to that of the priesthood. And when shall I unrol Firmianus, Minutius, Cyprian, Hilarius, John, and Ambrose, persons most illustrious for eloquence, from the volume of innumerousness. Those, also, I imagine, said what a certain one of ours says, when he was inciting himself *to* retire from the world to this more blessed life, by the goad as it were, they said, I imagine: What is this? The unlearned arise and carry off Heaven, and we with our learning, behold where we are wallowing in flesh and blood! They said this, and therefore they afterwards did violence to the kingdom of Heaven. . . . . .

Dost thou perceive how the days and the years and all those ornaments of the skies preserve the word and command of God with indefatigable observance, and keep the service of His orders with unintermitted law? And we, for whose uses those things have been formed, to whose eyes they have been introduced, we who are not unknowing of the divine com ands, nor unaware of the divine will, shall we pass over the command of God with a deaf ear? And, indeed, to those before-mentioned supports of the world it was commanded once for all, what they should observe throughout ages; but for us, indeed, the commands *of God* are repeated in so many volumes of the divine law. According to those at least, let him learn that it is assigned to man himself to obey the will of his Author, and to devote himself to His commands, because all this *array of the heavens*, when it yields its service, gives *also* an example.

And still, if there be any who are unwilling to return to their Lord, are they for that reason able to avoid their Lord? Or what place is there to which they can fly who turn themselves from their Lord? Let them hear thee, O holy David, let *them* hear thee saying—"Whither shall I go from Thy spirit, and whither shall I flee from Thy face? If I ascend into Heaven, Thou art there, and if I descend into Hell, Thou art there. If I take my wings early in the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there also shall Thy hand lead me, and Thy right hand shall hold me". Therefore, whether they will or not, they do not take themselves away from His will. They, indeed, are absent by feeling, but He is present by sway. Therefore, erring, *although* imprisoned, they live outside the love of the Lord, but within His power, a thing most improvident and foolish. And if each one follow a fugitive slave with a threatening search, and as an assertor of his right pursues the slave refusing to

acknowledge it, why does he not of himself pay what is ordered to his Heavenly Lord and to His service, as soon as he has devoted himself unto His worship by voluntary oblation, an equally just judge for Himself as against Himself.

Why are we rivetted in the pleasing spectacle of present things? Why are we pleased to brood over those things alone which we see? Is it that we live in those eyes alone, or have we our eyes alone of all our members for use? We live also by our ears, so that we may be eager for the things promised to us. Great feelings draw us on by this portion also of our bodies. Let us await the things which are promised to us, which are preached *to us*, with fervent prayers, with impetuous desires. He, the faithful one, the author of our hopes, inculcates faith in His promises. Let us go to the excellent gifts which He promises.

Although if we wished to use our eyes also well and usefully, by those also in a great measure are we hurried away to the future by great eagerness; if we turn back upon the Author Himself of so great a machine the admiration which we derive from the contemplation of the world, or if we think how great a splendour of light may meet our eyes hereafter, when so great a splendour now insinuates itself, *and* how magnificent a form will shine for everlasting things, when there exists so beautiful a form for things destined to perish! It is not right, therefore, that we weary the functions of our members for the less profitable interest; let them rather moderate life suitably for both interests, and let them so guard the use of the temporary union, that they may not cast away the ministry of the eternal concern. If this call and this love please us, and that its presence solicits our very senses, this is truly the love of the highest pleasure. It is not only what may be loved with the utmost affection, but what ought especially *to be so loved;* delightful, illustrious, standing alone, eternal, good; our God, I say, for whom thou mayest burn with a fire as great as it is pious if precious desires, succeed again to the place of former passions. If the dignity of *never* so magnificent a thing, captivated thee in any one, nothing is more magnificent than He; if anything carried thee away as fit and suitable for glory, nothing is more glorious than He; if thou wert led to brilliant things by the sight of things that shine, nothing is more lustrous than He; if thou wert drawn by thy gaze to beauteous things, nothing is more beautiful than He; if thou didst believe that bounty was to be revered in any one, nothing is more munificent than He. Dost thou admire what is pure and simple? Nothing is purer than that goodness. Art thou invited by the richness of abounding things? Nothing is more plen-

tiful than His abundance. Dost thou love anything as faithful? Nothing is more firm than His faith. Dost thou love anything as advantageous? Nothing is more advantageous than His love. Is there anything which attracts thee either by the appearance of severity or of agreeableness? Nothing can be either more terrible or more gentle than that greatness or that condescension respectively. Is kindness in adversity or sweetness in prosperity required? In Him is either the supreme[167] gladness in joy, or the supreme consolation in sorrow. Therefore, it is most consistent with reason that thou shouldst love beyond all things Him in whom thou hast all things. Riches and all those things, whatever they be that now possess thee with their delights, are not only within Him, but are had from Him. Hitherto thy love has been badly distributed; henceforward let it be restored to the Heavenly watch. Let thy chaste charity, hitherto wandering in its affections, be brought back to sacred uses, and having restrained error, do thou, chastising thy affection, which strayed by reason of human opinions, direct it, and turn thy love towards God; for, whatever thou now lovest is His—His, I say—it is His. For He is so great, that those who do not love Him may love unjustly indeed, but cannot love anything which is not His.

But, however, I should wish a fair judge to consider whether it be right to love the work, the Maker being neglected; and the Creator of all things being abandoned, to run at random and indifferently by one's desires into His creature, when it would have been right that God should attract us to the love of Himself even by the love of those very works. And now, man is turned towards the desires and the functions of so many unworthy creatures, and with his inclinations incongruously disagreeing; a passionate lover of the art, *but* a deserter of the artist, he embraces the appearance of the thing whose author he does not admire.

And what have we said concerning this great abundance of His sweetness? or what have we spoken from the holy and deep treasury of His charity, concerning this kindness so great, and of one so ineffably good? or when, in any matter concerning Him, is any one able by speaking to reach the dignity of the thing itself? Therefore let me consider the loving Him as a thing not merely pleasurable but necessary. For it is an impious thing not to love Him whom thou never canst repay, even though thou shouldst love Him. For "what shall we return to the Lord for all the things which He hath given unto us?" What shall we return even for this alone, that through faith He has given salvation to us, and has decreed that that should be most easy of accomplish-

ment whereby He should extend hope to the orb of Earth and life to mortals? And that I may descend to these particulars, dost thou think that at any time, all external things, that is nations and kingdoms, have come under the Roman sway and empire for any other purpose; or that a great part of the human race has passed over into one people, for any other purpose than that the faith when infused should penetrate more easily through a single nation, as a medicine through a single body; that, introduced into the head, it should quickly diffuse itself throughout the members? Otherwise it would not have run amongst tribes numerous and differing in rites and tongues, nor could it have passed so far through the medium of continually new steps. Finally, the blessed Paul, distributing the faith through the same people, writes that he had filled all places from Jerusalem to Illyricum with the gospel of Christ; but when should this have occurred, either amongst nations innumerable in multitude or barbarous from wildness? Hence it is that now the earth, from the rising and the setting of the sun, and from the north wind and from the sea, resounds *with the name of* Christ; that all the ends of the world run together to life, while the Thracian, the Lybian, the Syrian, and the Spaniard receive the faith. Wherefore from this fact, that under Octavius Cæsar, and when the Roman empire everywhere held the supremacy, God gave Himself to the Earth, there is a great proof of the divine mercy. Therefore, that I may quote thy own history for thee,—whereas we are now in the turn of the eleven-hundred and eighty-fifth year from the beginning of this empire, if there be any proper verifier of the fact, he may show that whatever was added to the Roman empire either under that ancient administration of the kings, or under the double rule of the consuls, all those things were all prepared for the coming of the Christ and provided for the diffusing of His doctrine. Let us return to our subject. . . . . .

But when is it that any one can include even in estimation the reward of future good things? Behold, He, by His divine bounty, has granted to all the promiscuous use of this dearest *blessing*, light. It is given to the pious and to the wicked to see the common sun. The creature preserves his service for all by kindly offices. The possession of the whole world is the undivided *possession* of the good and the bad. When, therefore, God gives such magnificent things to the just and to the bad alike, what are those things to be thought which He reserves to the just? Let us consider what great things will not He restore, who has given such great things. He who is so great in gifts, how great will He not be

in rewards? If so great be the benignity of the giver, how great will not be that of the remunerator? Ineffable are the things which God has prepared for those who love Him rightly, openly, and manifestly: because it is truly immense, what great things He will repay to the good, who bestows such great things on the ungrateful.

Carry thy eyes around, and from the ocean of thy affairs look as it were into a certain port of our life, and turn thy prow. This is the one port into which let us be borne from all the tossing of the fluctuating world, which, wearied, let us seek amid the rushing whirlwinds of the world. Thither all who are assailed by the tempest of the roaring world must fly. Here is a most safe station of certain repose: here the recess is silent far and wide, the waves being excluded. Here mild tranquillity glows serenely. Hither when thou shalt have been borne, thy ship after thy vain labours will be retained, safely moored at the anchor of the cross.

But now my somewhat lengthy paper of writings demands a limit. Receive, for the honour of God, the strength of the Heavenly precepts, closely and shortly connected into a summary. These are all my commands. Forgive and acknowledge me.

SALVIAN.

Concerning Divine Providence.

BOOK III.

But, moreover, we not only do not do what we are commanded, but with all our zeal, with all our efforts, we act contrary to what we are commanded. For God commands that we be all dear to each other, *whereas* we all tear each other with mutual enmity. God commands that all shall give their own means to those who are in need, *whereas* all invade the property of others. God commands that every one who is a Christian should also have chaste eyes; who is there who does not involve himself in the mire of fornication? And why should I say more? What I am about to say is grievous and mournful. The Church herself, which ought to be the appeaser of God, what else is she than the exasperatrix of God? Or with the exception of some few who avoid evil courses, what else is almost the entire company of Christians than a sink of vices? For, whom do you find in the Church who is not a drunkard, or a glutton, or an adulterer, or a fornicator, or a plun-

derer, or a debauchee, or a robber, or a homicide? and what is worse than all, all these without end. For I question the conscience of all Christians. Out of those scandals and crimes which we have now mentioned, what individual of men is not some one of them? Thou mayest more easily find a man who is the whole than one who is nothing of them. And that we have said the word "nothing" may appear *to partake* of too severe a censure, I shall say a great deal more. Thou mayest more easily find people who are guilty of all those crimes, than people who are not guilty of all; more easily, people guilty of the greater crimes, than people guilty of the less: that is, thou mayest more easily find people who have committed the greater crimes along with the less, than those what have committed the less without the greater. For the entire population of the Church is reduced to that infamy of morals, that in the entire Christian people it is a species of sanctity *for any man* to be less vicious than others. Therefore, there are some who regard the churches, or rather the temples and altars of God, with less reverence than the house of the lowest and merest municipal judge. Inasmuch as all do not presume to enter at random within the gates not only of illustrious magistrates, but even of presidents or præpositi, but those only whom either the judge has called or whom business has drawn thither, or whom the dignity of their own honour has permitted to enter, so that if any one shall have entered insolently, he is either beaten, or driven away, or punished by some disgrace or injury of his character. But all sordid and disgraceful men burst into the temples, or rather to the altars, and the very sanctuaries of God, at random, absolutely without any reverence of the sacred honour, not because all ought not to run to supplicate God, but because he who enters to appease Him ought not to go out to exasperate Him. For it is not part of the same task to ask mercy and to provoke anger. For it is a new kind of prodigy: almost all continually do the same things which they lament that they have done. And those who enter the ecclesiastical house that they may bewail their former sins, go forth, and [why do I say go forth?] they plan this almost in their very prayers and supplications. Since the mouths of men do one thing, and their hearts another; and while in words they bewail their past evils, in intent they meditate other evils: and thus their prayer is rather the augmenter than the deprecator of their crimes, so that in them is truly fulfilled the malediction of the Scripture, that in their very prayer they go forth condemned, and their prayer becomes unto sin. Finally, if any one wish to know what men of this description think of during prayer, let them

see what follows. For the sacred rites being concluded, all run in various directions to their accustomed pursuits, some indeed to steal, others to get drunk, others to fornicate, others to rob; so that it evidently appears that they have planned within the temple what they execute after they have gone out.

BOOK IV.

WHICH things being so, truly we can flatter ourselves with a great prerogative from the name of Christianity, we who so live and act that the very fact of our being called a Christian people appears to be the disgrace of Christ. But on the other hand, amongst the pagans what is there resembling the things we say? Can it be said concerning the Chuni, behold what manner of men are they who are called Christians? Can it be said concerning the Saxons or the Franks, behold what they do who assert that they are worshippers of Christ? Is the sacred law blamed on account of the savage manners of the Moors? Do the most inhuman rites of the Scythians and Gepidæ draw into malediction and blasphemy the name of the Lord our Saviour? Can it be said of any of those, where is the Catholic law which they believe? where are the precepts of piety and charity which they learn? They read the gospels, and yet they are immodest; they hear the apostles, and yet they get drunk; they follow Christ, and yet they plunder; they lead a dishonest life, and say they have a pure love. Can those things be said concerning any of those nations? Certainly not. But all those things are said concerning us. In us Christ suffers disgrace; in us the Christian law suffers evil report. For concerning us is that said, which we have mentioned above: Behold what manner of men are they who worship Christ. It is evidently false what they say—namely, that they learn good things; it is false what they boast—that they hold the precepts of a holy law. For, if they learned good things they would be good; as is the religion, such are its professors.[168] Beyond a doubt they are that which they are taught to be. It appears, therefore, that the prophets whom they have, teach impurity; and that the apostles whom they read have sanctioned nefarious crimes; and that the gospels with which they are imbued preach those very things which they themselves do. In fine, holy things would be done by Christians, if Christ had taught holy things. Therefore, He who is worshipped may

be estimated according to His worshippers. For how can He be a good master, whose disciples we see to be so bad? For the Christians are from Him; they hear Him, they read Him. There is a ready way for all to understand the Christian teaching. See what Christians do, and it may evidently be known concerning Christ Himself what He teaches. Finally, the bloody tortures[169] of the cruel persecutors teach how badly and wickedly the pagans always thought concerning the rites of the Lord; *the pagans*, who believed that in the Christian sacrifices nothing else took place than certain impure and abominable *rites*. For they thought that the initiation of our religion could not begin, unless from two of the greatest crimes. First, namely by homicide, and then by incest, which is more grievous than homicide. Nor by homicide alone and incest alone, but what indeed is more criminal, by homicide and incest together, by the incest of sacred matrons, and by the murder of innocent children, whom they thought to be not only killed by Christians, but, what is more abominable, to be devoured by them; and that all these things were done for *the purpose of* appeasing God, as if He could be more offended by any crime; for *the purpose of* expiating guilt, as if any other guilt could be greater; for the purpose of recommending the sacrifice, as if the Lord could abhor anything more; for the purpose of deserving eternal life, as if, indeed, although it might be secured by those things, it would be worth while to reach it through such monstrous crimes.

BOOK IV., CHAP. XII.

But perhaps we who are corrupted by prosperity, are corrected by adversity, and those whom a long peace has made intemperate, disturbance causes to be moderate. Have the populations of the cities which were profligate in prosperity, become chaste in adversity? Has drunkenness, which had increased in tranquillity and abundance, ceased at least under the hostile ravaging? Italy has been laid waste by so many massacres; have the vices of the Italians therefore ceased? The city of Rome has been besieged and stormed; have the Romans therefore ceased to be blasphemous and outrageous? Barbarous nations have inundated the Gallias; therefore, as far as regards the abandoned morals of the Gauls, are their crimes not the same which they had been? The nations of the Vandals have passed over into the lands of Spain:

the lot, indeed, of the Spaniards is changed, but not their viciousness. Finally, lest any part of the world should be free from fatal evils, the wars began to sail through the waves, which wars, having wasted cities, closed the seas, and destroyed Sardinia and Sicily, that is our public granaries, and having cut off, as it were, our vital veins, took captive Africa herself, the soul, as it were, of the state. Well, then, when the barbarous nations entered that land, did their vices then perchance cease even from fear? or as even the very worst of slaves are usually corrected for the present, did terror extort from them modesty and regularity? Who can estimate this evil? The barbarous nations thundered with arms[170] around the walls of Cirta and Carthage, and the Carthaginian Church was mad in the circuses, was luxuriating in the theatres. Some were being slaughtered out of doors; others were fornicating within. A part of the people abroad was the captive of the enemy, a part inside was the captive of its vices. It is uncertain of which part the lot was worse. The former, indeed, were captives in the flesh externally; the latter were captives in the mind within; and out of two fatal evils, it is lighter, I think, that a Christian should suffer captivity of the body rather than of the soul, according to that which the Saviour Himself teaches in the gospel, that the death of souls is much more grievous than the death of bodies. Or do we believe, perchance, that that people was not captive in mind which was then joyful in the captivity of its own *citizens?* Was not that people captive in heart and feeling, which laughed amid the sufferings of its own citizens—which did not understand that it was itself being slaughtered in the throats of its own—which did not think that it was dying in the deaths of its own? There was the noise, that I may so speak, of battle and of sports without and within the walls; the voice of the dying and the voice of the revellers was blended; and the shrieking of the population which was falling in war, and the sound of the population which was shouting in the circus, was perhaps scarce distinguishable. And while all this was taking place, what else was such a people doing, unless that whereas God as yet was unwilling to destroy it, the people itself should compel *Him to decree* that it should perish?

But why do I speak of places situated far off, and removed from us as if in another world, when I know that even on the soil of our country, and even in the Gallic cities, almost all the more eminent men became worse by their calamities? I myself have seen at Treves, men noble in their country and exalted in dignity, who, although despoiled and plundered, were, how-

ever, less ruined in circumstances than in morals. For although some portion of their substance was left to them, stripped and depopulated as they were, nothing was left them of morality. To such an extent were they more grievous enemies to themselves than the enemies from without, that although they had already been destroyed by the barbarians, they were still more destroyed by themselves. It is mournful to relate the things which we have seen: old men of rank, decrepit Christians, enslaved to their gluttony and lasciviousness while the destruction of the state was imminent. What is the thing to be first blamed? Is it that they were men of rank, or old men, or Christians, or men in danger? For who could believe that this would be done either by old men in safety, or by boys in danger, or by Christians at any time? The principal men of the state were lying in their banquets, forgetful of their honour, forgetful of their age, forgetful of their religion, forgetful of their name, stuffed with food, overcome with wine, mad with shouting, wild with revelling, being nothing less truly than men in the enjoyment of their senses; nay, since they were almost always thus, being nothing more truly than men in the enjoyment of their senses.[171] But those things being so, what I am about to tell is by far more grievous; not even the destruction of the various cities put an end to this profligacy. Finally, the richest city of the Gauls was four times stormed. It is readily understood concerning which I speak. In truth the first captivity should have been enough for its correction, so that a renewal of sins should not renew the destruction. But why should I say more? What I state is incredible. This constant succession of calamities was there an increase of crimes. For even as killing multiplied that snaky monster, as fable tells, so in the most flourishing city of the Gauls, crimes increased by those very scourges wherewith they were being repressed, so that thou mightest think that the punishment of the crimes themselves was as it were the mother of those vices. And why should I say more? It came to this, through the multiplication of crimes continually sprouting, that it would be easier that that city should be without an inhabitant, than that there should be an inhabitant without crime. This, therefore, took place in that city. What took place in another city, not far off, but of almost equal magnificence?

Was there not the same ruin equally of things temporal and of morals? For, whereas, in addition to their other vices, all things had fallen under those principal prevailing vices, avarice and drunkenness; the evil finally reached that pitch through greediness of wine, that the leading men of that town did not

rise from the banquet, even then when the enemy was entering the city. For, as I believe, God wished to manifest to them most clearly why they were perishing; forasmuch as when they were perishing, they were doing that very thing whereby they had come to the last *degree of* ruin. There I have seen lamentable things, namely, that there was no difference between boys and old men. There was the same scurrility, the same levity; all things *went* together, their luxury, their drinking, their ruin; all were doing all things alike; they were playing, they were getting drunk, they were being slaughtered. There were sporting in the banquets, men old and of rank, almost too weak for life, but exceeding strong for wine, inferior for walking, robust for drinking, tottering in their gait, but sprightly for dancing.[172] And why say more? Through all those things which we have mentioned they rolled down to this, that in them was fulfilled that saying of the sacred word, "Wine and women make men apostatize from God". For while they drink, and play, and fornicate, and go mad, they begin to deny Christ; and after all those things, are we to wonder if they who had so long gone to ruin in their minds, suffered the ruin of their substance? For let no one believe that that city perished merely in its *material* destruction. For where such things were done, they had perished by *anticipation*, before they had perished *in fact*.

I have spoken concerning the most remarkable cities. What did the other cities in the various parts of Gaul do? Did they not all fall by the similar vices of their citizens? For their crimes had so weighed upon them all that they did not fear even their own danger. Their captivity was foreknown and was not dreaded. Fear was taken away from the sinners, that there might not be any caution. Therefore, the barbarians being placed almost in the sight of all, there was no fear of the men nor any guardianship of the cities. So great was the blindness of their minds, or rather of their sins, that although without doubt no one wished to perish, nevertheless, no one did that whereby he might not perish. Carelessness and sloth, negligence and gluttony, drunkenness and sleepiness, possessed the entire, according, truly, to what has been written concerning such men: "For a deep sleep from the Lord was fallen upon them". For a deep sleep is poured in that ruin may follow. For when, as it is written, his iniquities being completed, any sinner deserves to perish, foresight is taken away from him, that, destined to perish, he may not escape. But *let* those things suffice so far. For I have evidently shown, as I think, what I have proposed to

show—namely, that not even in the extreme danger of the state did the vices of the cities cease until the destruction of those cities.

And, perhaps, those things once were so, but are not so now, or they will cease ever to be. Yes, truly, if there be yet to-day any city or province which is either stricken by Heavenly scourges, or laid waste by hostile ravages, and is humbled, is converted, and is amended; and if it be not the fact[173] that almost all the people of the Roman name perish before they are converted, and that they themselves cease to be, before vices cease to be in them. Finally, this can be shortly proved by the vices increasing even after destruction, when the greatest city of the Gauls had been prostrated by successive subversions, and the entire city was a tomb. For those whom the enemy had not killed in the destruction of the city, calamity overwhelmed after the destruction; when whatever had escaped death during the destruction, after the destruction did not survive the calamity. For the wounds struck deep were killing some with tedious deaths, and after the flames *had ceased*, then sufferings tortured some, burned round with the flames of the enemies. Some perished from hunger, some from nakedness, some wasting away, some stiffening, and thus they fell into one issue of death by various kinds of dying. And why say more? By the destruction of one city other cities also were afflicted. Since there lay in all directions (what I myself have seen and borne to see), corpses of both sexes, naked, lacerated, polluting the eyes of the city, torn by birds and dogs. The funereal stench of the dead was a plague of the living. Death was exhaled from death. And thus, those also who had not been present at the destruction of the above named city, suffered the evils of the destruction of others. And what was done after those things? What I say after those? Who can form an idea of this kind of madness? A few nobles who survived the destruction, demanded Circensian games from the Emperor, as it were for the supreme cure of the ruined city. I would wish in this place that eloquence were given me equal to the task, for expressing the unworthiness of those things; so that in truth there will be as much virtue in the complaint as there was sorrow in the cause. For who can estimate which is the first to be blamed amongst those things which we have mentioned? The irreligion, or the folly, or the luxury, or the madness. For the whole is in them. For what can be more irreligious than to seek anything to the prejudice of God? Or what more foolish than not to consider what thou seekest? Or what is there so characteristic of abandoned dissoluteness as in

grief itself to require the appliances of luxury? Or what is there more frantic than to be in the midst of evils, and not to have an understanding of those evils? Although, in all those things, nothing is less blameworthy than madness, for the will has no crime where sin is committed through frenzy.

For which reason are those concerning whom we have spoken to be accused the more, because they have been mad while sane: therefore, O men of Treves, you desire Circensian games; and this, after having been plundered, after having been stormed, after slaughter, after blood, after sufferings, after your captivity, after the so many destructions of your overturned city, what can be more lamentable than this folly, what more deplorable than this madness? I confess that I thought you to be most miserable when you suffered the destruction of *your city;* but I see you more miserable now that you call for games. For I thought that in your destruction you lost your property and substance; I knew not that you had lost sense and understanding. Therefore you look for theatres: you demand a circus from the emperors? For what condition, for what people, for what city I pray you? For a city burnt down and destroyed, for a people captive and slaughtered, which has either perished or is in sorrow; from which, if there be anything remaining, it is all *the prey* of calamity; which is all either anxious with sadness, or exhausted with tears, or prostrate from bereavement, in which thou knowest not almost whose is the worse and harder lot—whether it be that of the slain or of the living. For such are the miseries of the survivors, that they exceed the unhappiness of the dead. Thou demandest public sports, O citizens of Treves! Where I pray thee are they to be performed? Is it over the tombs and the ashes, over the bones and the blood of the killed? For what part of the city is free from all those evils? For where is there not blood shed? where are are there not corpses strewn? where are there not the lacerated limbs of those who have been cut in pieces? Everywhere is the appearance of a captured city, everywhere the horrors of captivity, everywhere the image of death. The unhappy remnant of the people lies over the graves of their dead, and thou askest Circensian games! The city is black from burning, and thou assumest the countenance of festivity! All things grieve, and thou art joyful! Moreover, thou dost provoke God by most wicked allurements, and dost irritate the wrath of the Divinity by the worst superstitions. I really do not wonder—I do not wonder that the evils which followed have happened to thee. For because three sackings had not corrected thee, thou didst deserve to perish by the fourth.

SAINT LEO.

Of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul

Most dearly beloved, the whole world is a sharer in all holy solemnities, and the piety of the one faith requires that whatever is celebrated as done for the salvation of all, should be celebrated everywhere with common joys. But the festivity of this day is to be venerated with a special and peculiar veneration by our city, in addition to that reverence which it has deserved from the entire world; and where the death of the principal apostles was glorified, there let there be the supremacy of rejoicing upon the day of their martyrdom. For those are the men by whom the gospel of Christ shone for thee, O Rome, and thou, who wert the mistress of error, hast become the disciple of truth. Those are thy true fathers and pastors who founded thee, destined to be transferred to the Heavenly kingdom, much more happily and much better than did those by whose labour the first foundations of thy walls were laid, out of whom, he who gave thee thy name polluted thy walls with the slaughter of his brother. Those are they who have advanced thee to that glory, that as a holy nation, a chosen people, a priestly and a kingly city, rendered the head of the world, through the sacred see of the blessed Peter, thou shouldst rule more wisely by the divine religion than by thy Earthly sway. For although, enriched by many victories, thou hast carried forward the rule of thy empire by land and sea, that which thy warlike labour has subdued to thee is less than what the Christian peace has subjected to thee.

For God, good, just, and omnipotent, who has never denied His mercy to the human race, and has instructed all mortals in common by most abundant benefits, unto the knowledge of Himself, in His more secret counsel and in His deeper mercy, has compassionated the voluntary blindness of the erring, and their badness even inclining to worse, by sending His Word, co-equal and co-eternal with Himself. Which being made flesh, so united the divine nature to our human nature, that His bending down to the lowest things should be our advancement to the highest. But in order that the effect of this most ineffable grace should be diffused throughout the whole world, divine Providence prepared the Roman empire, whose enlargements were brought to those limits by which the entire family of all nations should be neighbouring and contiguous. For it was especially suitable to a

work ordered from above, that many kingdoms should be confederated under one empire, that the universal preaching should have, quickly penetrable, those people whom the government of a single state should hold together. But this state, not knowing the author of its advancement, while it was ruling over almost all nations, was a slave to the errors of all nations, and appeared itself to have adopted great religion, because it rejected no falsity. Hence, in proportion as it was more tenaciously held bound by the Devil, in like proportion was it more admirably freed by Christ.

For when the twelve apostles, having received through the Holy Ghost the speaking of all tongues, took upon themselves the world to be imbued with the gospel, the various parts of the Earth being distributed amongst them, the most blessed Peter, the prince of the apostolic order, is destined for the citadel of the Roman empire, that the light of faith which was revealed for the salvation of all nations, should shed itself more efficaciously from the head itself upon all parts of the world. But of what nation were there not then men in this city? Or what nations could anywhere be ignorant of what Rome had taught? Here the conflicting opinions of philosophy, here the vanities of Earthly wisdom were to be dissolved; here, the worship of the demons was to be refuted; here the impiety of all the sacrifices was to be destroyed, where was held collected by industrious superstition whatever had anywhere been established by vain errors.

To this city, therefore, thou, O most blessed apostle Peter, dost not fear to come, and the apostle Paul, the companion of thy glory, being as yet occupied with the regulations of other churches, thou, more firm than when thou wast walking upon the sea, dost enter that *forest* of raging beasts and ocean of most turbulent depth. Nor dost thou who hadst dreaded the maid servant in the house of Caiphas, fear Rome, the mistress of the world. Was there less power in Claudius, or less cruelty in Nero, than in the judgment of Pilate or in the cruelty of the Jews? Therefore, the power of love overcame the matter of fear, nor dost thou think that thou shouldst yield to terror, while consulting for the salvation of those whom thou hadst taken upon thee to be loved. But thou hadst already conceived that affection of intrepid charity then indeed, when the profession of thy love towards the Lord was strengthened by the mystery of the threefold question. Nor was anything else sought from this application of thy mind, than that thou shouldst spend upon feeding the Sheep of Him whom thou dost love, the food by which thou thyself wert fattened.

The so many signs of miracles, the so many gifts of graces, the so many trials of virtues, also increased thy confidence. Thou hadst already instructed the nations who had believed from the circumcision. Thou hadst already founded the Church of Antioch, where the dignity of the Christian name arose. Thou hadst already filled Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia with laws of the gospel preaching, and neither doubtful concerning the advance of the work nor ignorant concerning the space of thy own age, thou didst bear the trophy of the cross of Christ to the Roman towers, whither the honour of power and the glory of passion went before thee by the divine ordainings.

To meet which, thy blessed fellow-apostle, the vessel of election and special teacher of the Gentiles, Paul, going forward, was associated with thee at the same time at which all innocence, all modesty, and all liberty was in straits under the empire of Nero, whose fury, inflamed by the *excess* of all vices, precipitated him even into that torrent of his madness, that *he should be the first* who inflicted upon the Christian name the atrocity of a general persecution, as if by the slaughter of the saints the grace of God could be extinguished, of which this very thing was the principal gain, that the contempt of this decaying life should be the receiving of eternal happiness. "Precious, therefore, in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints". Nor could the religion founded by the sacrament of the cross of Christ be destroyed by any kind *of cruelty*. The Church is not diminished but is increased by persecutions, and the field of the Lord is always clothed with a richer harvest, while the grains which fall one by one arise multiplied. Whence thousands of blessed martyrs protest, into how great progress those two illustrious grains of the divine seed have budded, which *thousands*, the rivals of the apostolic triumphs, have surrounded our city with whole populations, purpled and shining far and wide, and have crowned it as it were with a single diadem, wreathed out of the honour of many gems.

From which protection, prepared for us, most beloved, as an example of patience and a strengthening of our faith, we must, indeed, universally rejoice in the commemoration of all saints, but we must rejoice more exultingly in the excellence of those Fathers whom the grace of God has carried forward to such a summit, that He built them up, as it were, the light of two eyes in that body, the head of which is Christ. Concerning whose merits and virtues, which exceed every power of speaking, we should feel nothing different, nothing separate, because both election made them alike, and labour similar, and their end equal.

But, as we ourselves have experienced, and our ancestors have proved, we believe and trust amongst all the labours of this life, that we are always to be aided by the prayers of special patrons for obtaining the mercy of God; that as much as we are pressed down by our own sins, so much may we be raised up by the apostolic merits, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, is the one power and the one divinity for ever and ever. Amen.

SAINT BERNARD.

TO ROBERT.

I HAVE endured enough, and more than enough, my most beloved son, Robert, if haply the mercy of God may deign to visit thy soul through herself, and mine through thee: that is to say, by breathing into her salutary compunction, and into me joy for thy salvation. But since hitherto I see myself disappointed in my expectation, I am now no longer able to conceal my grief, to repress my anxiety, to dissemble my sadness. Whence, contrary to the order of right, I, who have been hurt, am compelled to recall him who has hurt me; I, who have been despised, am compelled to seek my despiser; I, who have suffered injury, am compelled to make satisfaction to the injurer; and, finally, to solicit him by whom I ought to have been solicited. For truly my excessive grief does not dissemble, is not ashamed, does not consult reason, does not acquiesce in judgment, knows not measure and order, my mind being busy in every way, and solely about this *one* thing, how it may be without what it grieves to have, or how it may have what it grieves to be without. "But", thou sayest, "I have not hurt nor despised any one; but it is I rather who, frequently despised and hurt in many ways, have only fled from him who wrought me evil. To whom have I done injury, if I have fled from injury? Is it not better to yield to the persecutor than to resist him? is it not better to fly from him who strikes than to strike in turn?" Thou arguest rightly; I assert I have begun those matters, not that I might contend, but that I might separate the contention.[174] To fly persecution is not the fault of him who flies, but of him who pursues. I do not contradict. I leave out what has been done. I do not require *to know* why or how it has been done: I do not examine faults, I

do not reconsider crimes, I do not recollect injuries. For those things are used rather to provoke than to mitigate disagreements. I merely speak what I have more at heart. Woe is me, when I am without thee, when I do not see thee, when I live without thee, for whom to die is to live, without whom to live is to die. I do not, therefore, inquire whither thou hast gone, but I complain because thou dost not return. I do not blame the causes of thy departure, but I blame the delays of thy return. Only come, and there will be peace; return, and satisfaction has been made. "He was dead, and he has come to life; he was lost, and he has been found".

Let it certainly have been my fault that thou hast departed; but I was too austere to a mere youth, and too stern. I have treated severely one of tender years. For from this source formerly when present (how well I recollect it) thou wert wont to murmur against men. From this source now also (as I have heard) thou dost not cease to detract from me, even absent. Let it not be imputed to thee. Perhaps I might excuse the course I had adopted, and say that thus the movements of petulant boyhood were to be restrained, and that these stern beginnings of a more rigid discipline were due to thy inexperienced years, the Scriptures bearing witness, which says: "Strike thy son with a rod, and thou shalt deliver his soul from death". And, again: "For those whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and He scourgeth every son whom He receiveth"; and "The blows of a friend are more profitable than the kisses of an enemy". But let it be my fault (as I have said) that thou hast departed, lest, while there is a dispute concerning the committing of the offence, the amendment be delayed. But, henceforward, without the least doubt, it will begin to be thy fault, if thou dost not spare him who repents, nor forgive him who confesses; because, at one time or another, I may, in some particulars, have been indiscreet towards thee, but certainly not ill-intentioned. And if thou dost hold as suspected my indiscretion for the future, thou shouldst know that I will not be the man I was, I who do not think that thou wilt be the man thou wast. Changed thyself, thou wilt find me changed, and him whom before thou didst fear as a master, thou wilt now securely embrace as a companion. Therefore, whether thou hast withdrawn through my fault, as thou thinkest, and I make no defence; or whether, through thy own fault, as many think, although I do not accuse thee; or whether through my fault and thine together, which I rather think; from henceforward, if thou now refuse to return, thou alone truly wilt be inexcusable. Dost

thou wish to be free from all fault? Return; if thou acknowledge thy fault, I forgive; and forgive thou me, when I acknowledge mine. Otherwise either thou too much indulgest thyself, who dost admit thy fault to thyself and yet dost dissemble it, or else thou art too unmerciful to me, whom thou dost not regard as to be forgiven, even when making satisfaction.

If now thou refuse to return, seek some other occasion whence thou mayest falsely flatter thy conscience: because there will be nothing henceforward which thou needest dread from the rigour of my severity. For neither is it to be dreaded that I should be formidable to him present, to whom, while still absent, I am now prostrated with my entire body and bound up with all my bowels. I exhibit humility, I promise charity, and dost thou fear? Come boldly whither humility calls thee—whither charity draws thee. Approach secure, preceded by such hostages. Thou hast fled from me stern, return to me mild; let my gentleness recall thee, whose severity has put thee to flight. Behold, my son, whither I desire thee to be led. "Not in the spirit of bondage again in fear, but in the spirit of adoption of sons", in which neither shalt thou be confounded to cry "Abba Father", pleading the cause of my so great grief before thee, not with threats, but with blandishments; with prayers, not with terrors. Another, perhaps, might try thee otherwise. And truly, what other would not rather examine thy guilt and strike fear into thee; would not place thy vow in opposition to thee, and propose judgment; would not accuse thee of disobedience; would not be indignant at thy apostasy; because thou hast deserted from tunics to furs; from vegetables to delicacies? But I know thy spirit, which can more easily be bent by love than compelled by fear. In fine, why is it necessary to goad with those *things*, one who does not kick against you; to terrify still more one who is very timid; to confound still more one who blushes enough of himself, to whom his own reason is master, his own conscience a rod, and his inborn modesty a law of discipline? And should it appear wonderful to any one how a modest, simple, timorous boy should have ventured contrary to the will of his brethren, contrary to the command of his master, contrary to a regular decree, to abandon his vow and his place, let him also wonder that David was stolen away from sanctity; that the wisdom of Solomon was deceived; that a check was given to the strength of Sampson. What wonderful thing is it if he who, expelled from the country of happiness the first-formed man, should have stolen upon a tender youth in a place of horror and a vast solitude? To this is added, that neither did beauty deceive

him like those Babylonian old men, nor love of money like Giesi, nor the ambition of honour like Julian the apostate; but sanctity deceived him, religion seduced him, and the authority of his elders ruined him. Thou askest, how? First, indeed, there was sent to him a certain great prior from the very prince of priors, externally, indeed, appearing in the garments of sheep, but within a ravening wolf; and having deceived the shepherd who thought forsooth that it was a sheep: woe! woe! the wolf was admitted alone to the lonely little sheep. Nor did the little sheep avoid the wolf, whom she herself thought to be a sheep. What more? He attracts, he entices, he flatters, and the preacher of a new Gospel, he commends surfeit, he condemns frugality; he says that voluntary poverty is misery; he calls fasting, watchings, silence, and labour of the hands, madness. On the contrary, he styles idleness contemplation; gluttony, loquacity, curiosity, and every kind of intemperance, he names discretion. "When", he says, "is the Lord delighted with our tortures? Where does Scripture command that any one should kill himself? What species of religion is it to dig the earth, to cut down the forest, to carry dung? Is it not the saying of truth—'I will have mercy and not sacrifice'? and 'I desire not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live'? 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy'. But why did God create meats if it be not lawful to eat them? Why did He give us bodies if it be not lawful to maintain them?" Finally, "he who is bad to himself, to whom is he good? What sane wise man ever had his flesh in hatred?"

Circumvented by such allegations, the unhappily credulous boy is seduced; he follows the seducer, he is led away to Cluny; he is clipped, he is shaved, he is washed, he is stripped of his rustic old sordid garments; he is clothed with precious, new, and elegant garments, and is thus received into the convent. But with what honour dost thou think, with what triumph, with what reverence? Deference is paid to him above all his equals in age, and as a victor returning from the fight, so is praised a sinner in the desires of his soul. He is raised upon high; he is placed in no mean position; so that the youth is preferred before many seniors; the entire brotherhood favours, flatters, congratulates him. All exult like victors having taken the prey when they divide the spoil. O good Jesus, how many things were done for the destruction of one poor little soul! Whose breast, however robust, would not grow soft under their blandishments? Whose inward eye, however spiritual, would not be disturbed? To whom,

amid such things, would it be allowed to recur to his conscience? Who, in fine, in such pomp, can be able either to acknowledge the truth or to obtain humility?

Meanwhile a deputation is sent for him to Rome. The apostolic authority is addressed, and in order that the Pope may not deny his assent, it is suggested to him, that when an infant, he was formerly presented by his parents to the monastery. There was no one who should refute the allegation, for neither was a contradiction awaited: judgment was given for the party present, and judgment is given against those absent. Those are justified who did the injury; those who suffered lost their cause, and the guilty one is absolved without satisfaction. The too clement decision of absolution is strengthened by a cruel privilege, which, being brought back, his ill-advised steadfastness might be strengthened for the fluctuating youth, his confidence for him yet doubting. And this is the tenor of the letters; this is the conclusion of the judgment; this is the decision of the whole cause,—that those who have taken are to hold, that those who have lost are to be silent. But amid those things, a soul must perish for which Christ has died, and this because the monks of Cluny wish it. Profession follows upon profession: that is vowed, which shall not be performed: that is proposed, which shall not be held: and when the first compact has been made null, the prevarication has been doubled in the second, and sin becomes beyond measure sinful.

One will come, One will come who will rejudge things badly decided, who will confute things unlawfully sworn, who will do judgment for those who suffer injury, "who shall judge the poor with justice, and shall reprove with equity for the meek of the Earth". He will come for certain, who threatens through the prophet in the psalm, saying: "When I shall receive time, I will judge justices". What will He do regarding unjust judgments, who will judge even justices? It will come, I say, the day of judgment will come, when pure hearts will avail more than cunning words, and good consciences more than full purses. Since that Judge is neither deceived by words, nor bent by bribes, I appeal to Thy tribunal, O Lord Jesus: I reserve myself for Thy judgment: to Thee I commit my cause, Lord God of Sabbath, who dost judge rightly, and dost try the reins and hearts: whose eyes, as they cannot deceive, so neither can they be deceived: Thou seest those who seek Thy interests, and those who seek their own. Thou knowest with what bowels I have always been present to him in all his temptations: with what groans for him I have dinned the ears of thy piety: in what way at each of his

scandals, perturbations, and troubles, I was burned, was tortured, was afflicted. And now I fear lest it was in vain. For I think, as far as I have experienced, that neither are such fermentations good for the body of a youth, sufficiently hot and petulant of himself, nor are those trials of glory good for his mind. Therefore, O Lord Jesus, my Judge, "let Thy judgment go forth from Thy face, let Thy eyes see justice".

Let them see and judge which of the two ought to stand preferably, whether it be the vow of the father concerning the son, or of the son concerning himself, especially when the son vowed something greater. Let Thy servant, our legislator, Benedict, see what a regular is: whether it be, what has been done regarding *him when* a little infant without his own knowledge, or what he himself afterwards advisedly and knowingly has done, after he had attained an age that he could speak for himself. Although it is not doubtful that he was promised merely and not bestowed. For neither was the petition which the rule prescribes made for him by his parents, nor was his hand rolled up with the petition itself in the altar cloth, that he should thus be offered before witnesses. Then the earth is shown which is said to have been given with him and for him. But if they received him along with the earth, why did they not keep him along with the earth? Was it haply that they required the gift more than the fruit, and that the earth was valued more than the soul? Otherwise, presented to the monastery, what was he doing in the world? He who was to be nurtured for God, why was he exposed to the Devil? Why was the sheep of Christ found to be exposed to the bite of the wolf? For it was from the world, and not from Cluny, that, as thou thyself art witness, thou camest to the Cistercian convent. Thou didst seek, thou didst ask, thou didst knock, but on account of the tenderness of thy age, thou wert put off for a space of two years, although thou wert unwilling *so to be* put off. Which time being patiently completed and without blame upon thy part, by thy prayers and by thy many tears (if thou remember) thou didst get the expected mercy, and didst obtain the entrance which thou hadst sufficiently longed for. After those things, having been tried in all patience during a year, according to the rule, and having lived without complaint, after a year, having been professed of thy own accord, then first the secular, dress being thrown off, thou dost take upon thee the habit of religion.

O insensate boy! who fascinated thee not to discharge the vows which thy lips pronounced? Wilt thou not either be justified out of thy own mouth or condemned out of thy own mouth?

Why art thou anxious about the vow of thy parent and neglectful of thy own, when thou hast to be judged out of thy own mouth and not out of his?—when thou art to be examined by the vow of thy own lips and not of his? And why does any one vainly flatter thee concerning the apostolic absolution?—thee whose conscience the divine saying holds bound: "No one", it says, "setting his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God". Whether will those who said to thee: Well done! well done! persuade thee that this conduct of thine was not a looking back? My little child, if sinners have enticed thee, do not agree with them. Do not believe in every spirit. Let thy friends be many: let there be to thee one adviser from amid a thousand. Remove the occasions *of sin*, reject their blandishments, shut thy ears to their flatteries. Question thyself concerning thyself, because thou hast known thyself better than another. Consider thy heart, examine thy conscience, consult the truth; let thy conscience answer thee, why thou hast gone away, why thou hast deserted thy order, why thy brethren, why thy place, why me, who am both related to thee in the flesh, and still more nearly related in the spirit. If it were that thou mightest live more strictly, more correctly, more perfectly, be secure because thou hast not looked back, but thou mayest glory with the apostle, who says, "Forgetting the things that are behind, and stretching forth myself to those that are before"; but if otherwise, "be not high-minded, but fear", since, if I may say so with thy permission, whatever more thou dost indulge thyself with in superfluous food and clothing, in idle words, in free and curious straying, than what thou didst promise, than what thou didst observe amongst us, this without doubt is to look back, this is to prevaricate, this is to apostatize.

And I say those things, my son, not that I may confound thee, but merely that I may admonish thee as my dearest son; because, although thou mayest have many masters in Christ, yet mayest thou not have many fathers. For if thou condescend *to acknowledge it*, I have begotten thee to religion by my word and by my example. I then fed thee with the milk which alone thou couldst take while a child, intending to give thee the bread if thou wouldst wait to grow. But alas! how immaturely and at what an untimely age wert thou not weaned? And I fear lest the entire substance which I had cherished by caresses, which I had strengthened by exhortations, and made solid by prayers, is now famishing, failing, perishing, and lost. Miserable as I am, I may *have to* lament not so much the loss of my vain labour, as the miserable

lot of my condemned offspring. Does it please thee that another who has hitherto never laboured for thee should glory concerning thee? A thing has happened to me like to that which happened to the harlot before Solomon, from whom her little one was stolen by another, who had killed her own overlain by her. Thou also hast been torn away from my bosom and from my womb. I lament thee taken away: I seek thee, who hast been violently torn from me. I cannot forget my bowels, no small portion of which being taken away, the remaining part cannot but be tortured.

But, for what advantage of thine, for what necessity of thine, have our friends planned this for me? Those men whose hands are full of blood; whose sword has passed through my soul; whose teeth are arms and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword. For, indeed, if I have ever offended them in anything (which I am not conscious to myself *of ever having done*), they have paid me back in very full return. But it is wonderful if I have not received more than retaliation; if, indeed, I could have committed any offence toward them, such as I have now endured from them. For, that I may confess the truth, it is not a bone from my bones, nor flesh from my flesh, that they have taken away; but they have taken away the joy of my heart, the fruit of my spirit, the crown of my life, and, as I seem to myself to feel, the half of my soul. Why was this? Perhaps they took pity upon thee, and indignant at a blind man leading the blind, transferred thee to their own leadership, lest thou mightest perish after me? O hurtful charity! O stern friendship! they loved so dearly thy salvation, that they should attack mine. Thou couldst not be saved unless I should be destroyed. God grant that they may save thee without me; God grant that if I die thou at least mayest live. But what! is salvation rather in elegance of dress and opulence of food, than in sober food and moderate dress? If soft and warm fur, if fine and precious linen, if long sleeves and an ample hood, if a rustic coverlet and a soft texture, make a man holy, why do I also hesitate in following thee? These are the comforts of the sick, not the arms of those who fight. "Behold, those who are clad in soft garments are in the houses of kings". Wine and the like things, mead, and rich meats, war for the body. The flesh, not the soul, is fattened with delicacies; pepper, ginger, cummin, sage, and a thousand kinds of seasoning of this description, delight the palate but kindle lust. And thou placest thy security in those. Dost thou spend a safe youth with meats of this kind? Salt with hunger is sufficient for every seasoning to him who lives prudently and soberly;

which (hunger), not being awaited, it is necessary that mixtures upon mixtures be prepared from I know not what foreign juices, which may restore the palate, provoke gluttony, excite appetite.

But what shall a man do, thou sayest, who cannot do anything else? I well know thou art delicate, and that, accustomed to those things just now, thou canst not *endure* ruder meats; but what if thou canst do *that* whereby thou mayest be able to endure them? Dost thou ask how? Arise, gird thyself up, away with idleness, try thy strength, move thy arms, open thy hands after having clapped them; take exercise at something, and thou wilt immediately feel that thou desirest those things alone which take away hunger, not those which soothe the throat. Since exercise restores to things those flavours which inaction took away. After labour thou wilt take with desire many things which when idle thou dost reject. Since idleness begets daintiness, exercise begets hunger; but hunger in a wonderful way makes sweet what daintiness makes insipid. Vegetables, beans, pulse, and bread, as food, with water, are distasteful to one who is idle, but appear great delicacies to one who has been at exercise. Now, perhaps, unaccustomed to tunics, thou dost forsooth abhor them as well on account of the cold of winter as of the heat of summer. But hast thou read: "He that fears the hoar frost, upon him the snow shall fall"? Thou dost fear watchings, and fasts, and the labour of the hands; but these things are light to the man who meditates upon eternal flames. Thus the remembrance of outer darkness effects, that a man should not dread solitude. If thou reflect that there will be a future inquiry concerning idle words, silence will not much displease thee; that eternal weeping and gnashing of teeth brought before the eyes of thy heart will make the mat and the bed equal to thee. Finally, if thou wilt be well wake at the psalms during the entire portion of the night, which the rule prescribes, the bed will be too hard *indeed*, on which thou dost not slumber quietly. If thou wilt have wrought with thy hands as much during the day as thou hast undertaken to do, the food will be very hard which thou dost not eat willingly.

Arise, soldier of Christ, arise; make thyself clean from the dust; return to the path whence thou hast fled; thou, who art destined to fight more bravely, to triumph more gloriously after thy flight. Christ has many soldiers who have begun, and stood, and conquered more bravely; few but, who, having returned from flight, again pushed themselves into the danger which they had avoided, again routed the enemies from whom they had fled. And because everything rare is precious, I rejoice that thou canst

be of the number of those who, in proportion as they are more rare, will appear so much the more glorious. On the other hand, if thou be very timid, why dost thou fear where there is no fear, and dost not fear where there is more reason for fear? Is it because thou hast fled from the battle that thou thinkest thou hast escaped the hands of the enemy? The enemy more willingly pursues thee flying, than he resists thee to thy face. Now secure, having flung away thy arms, thou takest this morning slumber, whereas Christ arose *from the dead* at that hour; and art thou ignorant that when disarmed thou art both more timid and less formidable to the enemy? The multitude of armed men have blockaded the house, and yet thou sleepest? Now they are ascending the mounds, now they are scattering the fence, now they are rushing in through the back door. Is it safer therefore, for thee that they find thee alone, than with others? naked in thy bed, than armed in the camp? Arouse thyself, take thy arms and fly to thy fellow soldiers, whom flying thou hadst deserted, that the very same fear which had disjoined thee from them may join thee to them. Why, O delicate soldier, dost thou fly from the weight and the roughness of thy arms? The enemy pressing upon thee, and the javelins flying around thee, will cause the shield not to be a burden, and neither the cuirass nor the helmet to be felt. And, indeed, to one who proceeds suddenly from the shade to the sun, from idleness to labour, everything which begins seems heavy; but, after he shall have begun to get unused to those things, and gradually to become used to others, practice takes away the difficulty, and he finds that to be easy which before he thought to be impossible. For even the bravest soldiers, when the trumpet is heard, are wont to feel trepidation *before the* meeting *of the armies;* but, when they come to action, the hope of victory, and fear lest they be conquered, makes them intrepid. But, then, why dost thou feel trepidation, whom the unanimity of armed brethren will guard all round—at whose side stand angels, whom the leader of the war will fortify, before whom Christ will go animating his soldiers to victory, and saying: "Have confidence, I have overcome the world". And, elsewhere: "If Christ be with us, who is against us?" Thou shalt be able to fight securely there where thou art secure of the victory. O truly safe fight for Christ, and with Christ, in which, neither wounded, nor prostrated, nor broken under foot, nor killed a thousand times, if it might be, wilt thou be defrauded of the victory, provided only thou dost not fly. Flight is the only crime by which thou canst lose the victory. Thou canst lose it

by flying: hou canst not lose it by dying. And blessed art thou if thou die fighting, because, when dead, thou shalt presently be crowned. But woe to thee, if, by avoiding the fight, thou lose at once the victory and the crown, which may He avert from thee, O my beloved son, who, in His judgment, has to inflict upon thee a greater condemnation concerning this my letter, if He shall have found in thee no amendment from it.

To the Clergy and People of Franconia.

My address to you is concerning the affair of Christ, in whom truly is our salvation. I say those things that the authority of the Lord may excuse the unworthiness of the person who speaks, and that the consideration of your own interest may also excuse it. I am, indeed, little, but it is not a little that I desire you all in the bowels of Jesus Christ. This is now my reason for writing to you, this is the cause why I venture to approach your assembly with my letter. I should more willingly do that *viva voce*, if, as the will is not wanting, so the occasion afforded itself. Behold now, my brethren, is the acceptable time, now is the day of plenteous salvation. The earth, indeed, has been moved, and has trembled, because God has begun to destroy His own land. His own, I say, in which He has been seen to teach the word of His Father, and in which He lived thirty years with men as man. His own truly, which He adorned with miracles, which He consecrated with His own blood, and in which the first flowers of the resurrection appeared. And now, our sins demanding it, the enemies of the cross have raised their sacrilegious head, depopulating the land of promise with the edge of the sword. For it is a shame, if there be no one to resist, that they rush into the very city of the living God, that they overturn the laboratories[175] of our redemption, that they pollute the holy places, purpled with the gore of the immaculate Lamb. With sacrilegious mouth, they strain after the very shrine (O grief!) of the Christian religion, and they endeavour to invade and trample under foot the very bed on which our life slept in death on account of sin.

What are you doing, O brave men? What are you doing, O ye servants of the Cross? Will you thus give the holy one to dogs, and pearls to swine? How many sinners there, confessing their sins with tears, obtained pardon, after the filth of the pagans was exterminated by the swords of our fathers? The malignant

man sees and envies; he gnashes with his teeth and faints away; he stirs up the vessels of his iniquity, and if haply, at any time, he should be able to obtain that Holy of Holies (which may God avert), he will not leave the smallest signs or vestiges of so much piety. But this thing, indeed, *would be*, to all ages, an inconsolable grief, because the loss would be irreparable, but especially to this most impious generation it would be infinite confusion and everlasting disgrace.

What, however, do we think, my brethren? Is the hand of the Lord shortened, or has it become powerless for saving, that He should call upon little worms *like ourselves* to protect and restore His inheritance to Him? Is it that He cannotsend more than twelve legions of angels, or certainly speak but a word, and the land will be freed? It altogether depends upon Him to do so, if He should wish; but I say to you, the Lord your God tries you; He requires the children of men, if haply there be any one who may understand, and may seek Him, and lament his lot; for the Lord has pity upon His people, and provides a salutary remedy for those who have grievously fallen.

Consider how great an artifice He has used for saving you, and be amazed: look into the abyss of His mercy, you sinners, and take heart. He does not wish your death, but that ye be converted and live, because He thus seeks an occasion not against you but for you. For what else is it than an exquisite occasion of salvation, and one discernible to God alone, that the Almighty God deigns to admonish concerning His service, murderers, plunderers, adulterers, perjurers, and others bound with crime, as it were a nation which had done justice? Do not be mistrustful, O sinners: the Lord is clement. If He desired to punish you, not only would He not seek your service, but He would reject it when offered. Again, I say to you, weigh the riches of the goodness of the Most High God; consider the design of His compassion. He either brings about or affects that He has need of you, while He wishes to relieve your necessities. He wishes to be held as a debtor, while He gives as pay to those who fight for Him, forgiveness of their crimes, and everlasting glory. Blessed, therefore, should I call the generation which so fruitful a time of forgiveness has overtaken, which this year placable to the Lord, and truly a year of jubilee, has found in life. For this benediction is diffused over the entire world, and at the sign of life all fly together vieingly.

Because, therefore, your land is fruitful of brave men, and is known to be filled with a robust youth, and the fame of your nation has filled the universal world, gird yourselves ye also

manfully, and receive your fortunate arms, through zeal for the Christian name. Let that ancient malice, and not warfare, by which you were accustomed to slay each other, to destroy each other, that you may be consumed by each other, cease. What direful lust *of blood* excites wretched men, that they transpierce with the sword the body of a neighbour, whose soul perhaps perishes? But neither let him boast who escapes; for a sword will pierce his own soul when he only rejoices that an enemy has fallen. It is madness, not valour, to give oneself to that struggle, nor is to be ascribed to daring, but rather to frenzy. Thou hast now, O brave soldier, thou hast now, O warlike man, a place where thou mayest fight without danger, where to conquer is glory, and where to die is gain. If thou be a prudent merchant, if thou be a seeker of the world, I point out to thee certain great wares. See that thou be not lost. Receive the sign of the cross, and thou wilt obtain forgiveness of all the sins alike of which thou wilt have made confession, with a contrite heart. If the material be bought, it is at a small cost; if it be taken upon a devout shoulder, it is worth the kingdom of God. They, therefore, have done well who have already taken the Heavenly sign: the rest will do well, but *let it not be done by them* unto folly, if they too hasten to take what exists for their salvation also.

For the rest, my brethren, I admonish you, but not I, but the apostle of God with me, that you are not to trust every spirit. We have heard and we rejoice that the zeal of God glows in you; but it is altogether necessary that moderation should not be wanting to wisdom. The Jews are not to be pursued, they are not to be slaughtered, they are not even to be driven away. Question the divine pages concerning them. I know what is read in the psalm prophesied concerning the Jews. "God hath let me see over my enemies", says the Church. "Slay them not, lest at any time my people forget". They are certain living summits for us representing the passion of the Lord. For this purpose they have been dispersed over all nations, that while they pay the just penalty of so great a crime, they may be the witnesses of our redemption. When the Church, speaking in the same psalm, adds, "Scatter them in thy power, and bring them down, O Lord, my protector". Thus it has been done. They have been dispersed, they have been brought down, they endure hard captivity under Christian princes. They shall, however, be converted towards the evening, and there shall be respect of them. In fine, when the multitude of the Gentiles will enter, "then", says the apostle, "all Israel will be saved". In the meantime he who dies remains in death.

FIRST SERMON.

No one who, even to the extent of the name, is faithful, doubts that the eternal happiness of the Heavenly country, after which our pilgrimage sighs, and, on the other hand, that the punishments of Hell prepared for the wicked, exceed not only all sense of the human body, but all understanding of the heart. And would that this faith lived in all, and that desire on the one side and fear on the other should follow belief as should be proper. For what reason is there why we do not desire to avoid such misery (*as that of Hell*), and to reach such glory (*as that of Heaven*), even through the midst of swords, or, if it were necessary, half burned, unless that our faith is insensible and dead? To this is added for the completion of our misfortune, for the obstruction of our salvation, for the occasion of our perdition, that in the weighing of both ends, our feeling does not accord with our judgment, but in the consideration of the ways, we do not sufficiently hold even the very judgment of truth. Nor is it wonderful if our desire be moved by no delight of virtues, when it is torpid even regarding that eternal blessedness: or if he do not fear the bitterness of sin, who does not dread even the very eternal punishments prepared for the Devil and his angels? Unless *it be* what happens in other matters, that we are accustomed to desire more vehemently the pleasing things, and to dread more vehemently the hurtful things, the experience of which is nearer to us, even though they be far less than *things more remote.*

This I cannot sufficiently wonder at, *namely*, why our faith, which seems so certain in things future, stumbles in things present. It is thus, ye foolish sons of Adam, that not judging nor discerning what is true, while you have promises both of this life which now is, and of the future life, in that which you are at once to experience, you show yourselves querulous, incredulous, and unfaithful; that it evidently appears to happen, that the faith of a future promise is left to you only for a finishing stroke of your damnation. The very same, indeed, is to be considered regarding the threat. For, does not the very same *God*, who asserts that a kingdom is prepared for the elect, and fire for the reprobate, utter[176] with the same mouth and with the same truth, that whosoever do not approach to Him, labour and are burthened, but that those who approach, will not fail according to the trepidation of human smallness of soul, but will be refreshed by Him? He who promises a

kingdom ineffably delightful, the same testifies that His yoke is sweet and His burthen light. He who promises eternal blessedness in one country, again promises also present rest and refection upon our journey. In fine, the prophet speaks, saying: "Neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man, what God hath prepared for those who love Him". And we all readily believe it. The Lord Himself of the prophet speaks: "Come to me, all you that labour and are burthened, and I will refresh you: take my yoke upon you, and you shall find rest for your souls, for my yoke is sweet and my burthen light". And how many turn away the ear of the heart! for, perhaps, they do not venture to turn away the ears of the body. What kind of incredulity is this—nay, what insanity! As if either wisdom could be deceived, or truth could deceive. As if charity be either unwilling to give what it offers, or omnipotence is not able to pay what it promises.

For, what man is there so given to pleasure and luxury, who would not desire sobriety and chastity, if he were certain that they would be more agreeable to him? Who is there so ambitious who would not be content with all lowliness and poverty, if he knew that charity (as is the fact) which does not seek her own profit, is more amiable than all dignities? Who is there so avaricious who would not altogether despise riches if he believed that poverty were more pleasant? But now, Christ cries out in vain concerning the lightness of His burthen; without reason He affirms that His yoke is sweet: since by those also who are ranked by the name of Christians, the burthen of the Devil and the yoke of the flesh and of this world, is considered more delightful. But whence hast Thou such inconsiderateness as is laid to Thy charge by those, O Lord my God? Why hast Thou promised so publicly what Thou art so easily detected in not fulfilling? Thou dost assert that Thy spirit is sweet beyond honey and honeycomb; and behold they have found to be sweeter the flesh of hunting, the flesh (O shame!) of a harlot, and the vanity of the world. Woe to the miserable men! they judge *ex parte*, and they despise as bitter Thy hidden manna which they have not tasted. Surely they who have experienced both, they know that God is true, but that every man is a liar. Their testimony, therefore, ought to be too faithworthy; but, together with Thy promises, the experience of Thy friends also, is laughed at and contemned. For the carnal man does not perceive those things which are of the Spirit of God, but they appear folly to him. Nor is it wonderful, that he who does not believe

a God who promises, should not believe a man who has experienced *the truth of the promises.* Therefore, we are considered insane who affirm that the cross of the Lord is sweet, who magnify the delight of poverty, who extol the glory of humility, who utter forth the delights of chastity. The prophet also is considered insane along with us, who says that he has been delighted in the testimonies of the Lord as in all riches.

Ye who are wise in your own eyes, prefer to the divine testimonies, not all riches, but a few which you may beg, however you can, so that your faith never has a testimony. Let it be with you in secret, in privacy, where not even your Father who is in Heaven may see it, but may say: "I know you not". You firmly believe that God is just, true—a rewarder, omnipotent, supremely good, eternal. Show yourselves deaf adders, lest at any time you may hear the voice of Him who hastens and who says: "Show me thy faith without works". How much does it cost you to believe? But do not enter upon the way of the testimonies, since it is difficult, rough, and impossible wherein to walk. Miserable and unhappy men, who have not found the way of the dwelling of the city. And, therefore, do you walk upon a pathless course and not in the way. For the end of the ways which appear to you good, which you judge to be delightful, (for neither have they anything of true delight) sinks into the depth of Hell. Then shall there be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Awake, therefore, ye drunkards, and weep, lest perpetual weeping overtake you not expecting it. For when you will have said peace and security, then will a sudden ruin come upon you as upon one having a child in the womb, and you shall not escape, manifestly according to your desert, who now knowingly lose the time of flying, and fly from the means of escaping.

"Pray", says the Lord, "that your flight be not in the winter, nor on the Sabbath". Fly while it is yet the acceptable time, and the pleasing way is shown to you. Fly during the six days which it is allowed to work. Fly in the six testimonies of these qualities which we have touched above; of justice, of truth, of reward, of omnipotence, of supreme goodness, of eternity, lest perhaps you may so much give as you endure unwillingly the testimony of the seventh, namely, of the testimony of the divine wrath. Offspring of vipers, who has taught you to fly from the wrath to come? It is in the way of death in which you run—the way of perdition whose end sinks into the depth of Hell. Still, however, there is hope, because the end of the way, that is of life, has not yet come. Hasten to anticipate the good, lest

being suddenly surprised, there you lie. Come, my children, hear me; I will show you the way of salvation, the way of the testimonies of God, in which delight ye as in all riches.

It remains that thou study perseverance. For this is the consummation of the way, and has the testimony of eternity. For the perseverance of our life is the image of the divine eternity; so that as He is, we may be in this world, imitating according to the measure of our possibility His unchangeableness. Since to this effect the wise man says: "The fool changeth as the moon, the wise man remaineth as the sun". This is, therefore, the way, most dearly beloved: walk in it, since by ascending from virtue to virtue the God of Gods is seen in Sion. To the glory of whose vision may He Himself bear us, the Lord of riches and King of glory, who is the way, the truth, and the life, Christ Jesus, our Lord.

SECOND SERMON.

VERY frequently thinking upon the ardour of the desire of the fathers sighing after the presence of Christ in the flesh, I am touched with compunction, and confounded within myself, and now I scarcely restrain my tears, so much am I ashamed of the lukewarmness and torpor of these miserable times. For, to which of us does the actual exhibition of this grace infuse so much joy, as the promise enkindled desire in the ancient saints? For, behold, how many will rejoice in this nativity of His which is about to be celebrated; but would that they rejoiced at the nativity and not at vanity. Therefore, this expression breathes from their burning desire, and the feelings of their pious expectation: "Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth". Truly, whoever was then able to be spiritual, felt in spirit how great was the grace diffused upon his lips. Wherefore, speaking in the desire of his soul, he said, "Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth"; truly desirous in all ways, not to be cheated of the participation of so much sweetness".

For every perfect one said: why bring me the oratorical [*word-sowing*] lips of the prophets? Let Himself rather, who is beautiful in shape beyond the sons of man, kiss me with the kiss of His mouth. I no longer hear Moses, for he has become for me of a hesitating tongue: the lips of Isaiah are unclean; Jeremias knows not how to speak, because he is a boy, and the prophets are all tongueless. Let Him speak, of whom they speak—let Him speak. Let Him kiss me with the kiss of His mouth. Let

Him not speak to me in them or through them, since water is dark in the clouds of the air; but let Himself kiss me with the kiss of His mouth, whose gracious presence and the admirable streams of whose doctrine may they be in me a fountain of water leaping forth into life everlasting. Is not a more plentiful grace infused into us from Him, whom the Father hath anointed with the oil of gladness beyond His fellows? If, however, he deign to kiss me with the kiss of His mouth, whose living and active speech is indeed a kiss to me, not indeed the union of the lips, which sometimes belies the peace of the soul; but, manifestly the infusion of joys, the revelations of secrets, the wonderful, and in some degree undistinguishable, mingling of the light from above and of the illuminated mind. Since he who adheres to God is one spirit. With reason, therefore, I do not admit dreams and visions, I wish not for figures and riddles, I even contemn the angelic forms. Since my Jesus far excels those in His form and in His heart, I do not, therefore, ask any other angel or man, but I ask Himself to kiss me with the kiss of His mouth, nor do I presume that I am to be kissed by His mouth (for this belongs to the peculiar happiness and singular prerogative of the man taken up up *into Heaven*), but humble, I ask that He may kiss me with the kiss of His mouth, which is the common lot of many who can say, "And we all have received from His fulness".

Attend.—Let the Word taking flesh be the kiss which kisses: let the thing kissed be the flesh which is taken; but the kiss, that which is formed from the kisses, and from that which is kissed. Namely the person made up from both, the mediator of God and man, the man Christ Jesus. For this reason, therefore, none of the saints presumed to say "Let him kiss me with his mouth", but merely with the kiss of his mouth, preserving this prerogative to him, on whom in a singular degree and once for all the mouth of the word was impressed, when the plenitude of the entire Divinity bestowed itself upon him corporally. Happy kiss, and wonderful for its stupendous condescension; in which it is not mouth that is pressed to mouth, but God is united to man; and there, indeed, the contact of the lips signifies the embrace of the souls, but here the confederation of natures reconciles things human with things divine, reducing to peace the things which are on Earth and those which are in Heaven. For this kiss, therefore, each saint of the ancient times sighed, because they felt beforehand that pleasure and exultation were amassed therein, and that all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge were hidden in Him, and because they themselves desired to receive from His fulness.

I feel that what is said pleases you: but learn now another meaning of the words. It did not escape the saints, even before the coming of the Saviour, that God was thinking thoughts of peace towards the race of mortals. For neither would He make a word upon Earth which He would not reveal to His prophets. His Word, however, was hidden from many. For faith, at that time was scarce upon Earth, and a very slender hope in many of those who awaited the redemption of Israel. But those who had foreknowledge of it; they also, preached, that the Christ would come in the flesh, and with Him peace. Whence one of them: "And there will be peace", he says, "in our Earth when He shall come". Nay, they preached with every confidence as they had heard from above, that through Him men would recover the grace of God. That which was fulfilled in his own time John the precursor of the Lord knew, and related, saying: the grace and the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ has been accomplished: and that this is the truth, the whole Christian people now experiences.

O root of Jesse, Thou who standest for a sign of the nations, how many kings and prophets wished to see Thee, and have not seen Thee! Happy, however, from amongst all, thou, O Simeon, whose old age was in plenteous mercy! For he exulted that he might see the sign of his desire, and he saw it and was glad, and having received the kiss of peace, is dismissed in peace; first, however, pronouncing openly that Jesus was born for a sign which should be contradicted. It was altogether so. Contradiction was offered to the sign of peace which had arisen, but it was by those who hated peace. For, to men of good will, it was peace: to men of ill will, a root of scandal and a stone of stumbling. Herod, in fine, was disturbed, and all Jerusalem with him, since *the Saviour* came to His own, and His own received Him not. Happy were those shepherds, in their night watch, who were held worthy of the sight of this sign. Then it hid itself from the wise and the prudent, and revealed itself to little ones. And Herod wished to see it, but because he was not of good will, he did not deserve to see it, since it was a sign of peace, given only to men of good will. But to Herod, and those like him, was given only the sign of Jonas the Prophet. Moreover, to the shepherds: "And this", says the angel, "shall be a sign to you"; to you who are humble; to you who are obedient; to you who are not high-minded; to you who are watching and meditating upon the law of God day and night. "This", he says, "shall be to you a sign". What *shall* be a sign? What the

angels promised, what the people sought for, what the prophets foretold; this, the Lord has done now, and has shown to you: in which the unbelieving may receive faith, the cowardly may receive hope, the perfect may receive security. A sign of what thing? A sign of forgiveness, of grace, of peace, of which there will be no end. This, therefore, is the sign. "You shall find the infant wrapped in swaddling clothes, and laid in a manger". God, however, is in Him, "reconciling the world to Himself". He will die on account of your sin, and will rise for your justification, that being justified through faith you may have peace with God. This sign of peace, the Prophet formerly placed before King Achaz to be sought from the Lord his God, whether in Heaven above, or in the Earth below. But the impious king refused, unhappy man, not believing that in this sign the lowest were to be united with the highest in peace, inasmuch as the places below the Earth being saluted by the Lord descending to them, themselves also receive the sign of peace in the holy kiss: and the Heavenly spirits partake the same in eternal sweetness nothing the less, when He has returned to the Heavens.

My sermon must be brought to a close; but in order that I may draw together in a short summary what has been argued therein, it appears that this holy kiss was necessarily given to the world for two reasons,—first, that it might make itself believed by the weak, and might satisfy the desire of the just; then that the kiss was nothing else than the mediator of God and man, the man Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth God, world without end.—Amen.

SERMON OF SAINT AMBROSE,

FOR THE SECOND SUNDAY OF ADVENT; OR, CONCERNING THE BIRTH OF OUR LORD THE SAVIOUR.

You well know how great is the joy and how great the concourse, when the birth-day of an Emperor of this world is to be celebrated: how his leaders and princes, and also all his soldiers, carefully girt up in silken garments, walk more splendidly than is their wont, with highly wrought cinctures, precious with shining gold, in presence of their king. For they believe that the joy of the Emperor is greater if he see the greater adornment of their apparel; and that he will be joyful in the like degree, as they will have been assiduous in his solemnity: and, because

the Emperor, being a man, cannot see their hearts, he experiences their feelings regarding him, even by looking at their garments: whence it happens that whoever loves the king more faithfully, arrays himself more brilliantly. Then, because they know that on his birth-day he will be bounteous, and will give many things, either to his ministers or to those who are considered vile and abject in his house, they hasten beforehand to fill his treasury with such a variety of gifts that to whatever extent he may wish to distribute them, to that extent the plentiful distribution may not be wanting, and thus the will of bestowing may fail, before the matter out of which to give, *should fail*. But they do those things so carefully, because they hope that they will have a greater remuneration for their solicitude. If, therefore, my brethren, the men of this world celebrate the birth-day of their Earthly king with such preparation, on account of the glory of present honour, with what care ought not we to celebrate the birth-day of our King, Jesus Christ, who for our devotion will bestow upon us not temporal but eternal glory, and will not give us the administration of a temporal honour, which finishes with *the accession* of a successor, but the dignity of a Heavenly kingdom, which (dignity) has no successor. But what our reward is to be, the prophet says: "Which eye hath not seen, nor ear hath heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man *to conceive* the things which God hath prepared for those who love Him". With what garments is it fit that we be adorned? But why have we said, "we", that is, our souls? Because our king, Christ, does not so much require the elegance of dresses as the feelings of souls: nor does He look into the adornments of bodies, but considers the hearts of the merits; nor does He admire the richness of the work of the frail cincture which girds the loins, but He admires more the work of strong chastity, restraining lust unto purity. Let us, therefore, endeavour to be found before Him approved in faith, adorned with mercy, accomplished with good morals, and let the man who loves Christ more faithfully arrange himself more elegantly by the observance of His commands, that He may see that we truly believe in Him, when we so shine upon His solemnity, and may be more joyful in proportion as He shall see us more pure. And, therefore, before many days, let us chasten our hearts, let us cleanse our conscience, let us purify our spirit, that shining and immolated without stain, we may receive[177] the coming of the Lord, that the birth-day of Him whose birth took place through an immaculate Virgin, may be observed by immaculate

servants. For, whoever, on that day, will be sordid and polluted, does not regard the birth and rising of Christ, although he may be present in body at the festival of the Lord, nevertheless he is he is too far separated from the Lord in his mind; nor can the impure one and the holy one, the miser and the merciful, the tainted one and the virgin, have any association, unless that the unworthy man, by forcing himself in more, contracts a greater offence, because he does not at all know himself. For, while he wishes to be attentive, he is, in fact, insulting, like the man in the Gospel, who, in the assembly of the saints, invited to the marriage feast, dared to come, not having a wedding garment; and while one *guest* was bright with virtue, another was shining with faith, another was refulgent with chastity, he alone, polluted with filth of conscience, while all the rest were resplendent, was filthy with deformed horror; and, in proportion as the sanctity of the blessed guests reclining together was more brilliant, so much the more apparent was the wickedness of his sins, who might, perhaps, have been less displeasing if he had not introduced himself into the company of the just. Therefore, being taken up by the hands and feet, he is cast into the outer darkness, not only because he was a sinner, but because, being a sinner, he claimed for himself the merit of sanctity. Therefore, my brethren, let us who are about to celebrate the birth-day of the Lord, purge ourselves from the dregs of our crimes; let us fill His treasure with the gifts of offerings, that, upon the holy day, there may be *a store* whence pilgrims may receive, widows may be comforted, the poor may be clothed. For, what state of things will it be, if, in one and the same house, amongst the servants of the same Lord, one exults in robes of entire silk, another wastes away in rags; one is boiling up with food, another endures hunger and cold; this former belches forth yesterday's fumes of his indigestion, this latter does not relax the yesterday's rigour of his fast? Or, what will be the result of our prayers, if we ask that we may be freed from our enemy, who are not liberal to our brethren? Let us be imitators of the Lord. For, if it was His wish that the poor should be our associates in Heavenly grace, why are they not sharers in our Earthly substance? Nor let those be strangers to our alms, who are our brethren in the sacraments, if it be that we plead our cause more properly before the Lord through those, in order that we may feed, at our own cost, those who return thanks to Him. For whatever poor man receiving an alms thanks the Lord, is useful to the man, by *means of* whom giving alms, the Lord is blessed: nor unjustly. For as it is written: Woe to that man

through whom scandal cometh; and: Lament, because, on account of you, the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles; so is it written: *Peace* be unto every man doing good, and to him through whom the name of the Saviour is blessed. But what is not the merit of the man who bestows, so that a man may work alone in his house, and the Church may implore the Lord through many; and what he, perhaps, does not venture to ask from the Divinity, he may obtain by the prayers of many supplicating for him, and *in addition* that even which he had not hoped for? Which help of ours the blessed apostle mentioning, says: And through many thanksgiving is made for us; and, again: That our offerings may be made acceptable, sanctified in the Holy Spirit. Amen.

END OF THE EXTRACTS FROM THE LATIN FATHERS.

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SELECT HOMILIES

FROM

SAINT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

HOMILY I.

UPON EUTROPIUS.

At all times, indeed, but especially now, is it seasonable to say, vanity of vanities, and all is vanity. Where now is the splendid array of the consulship? Where are the glittering torches? where the applauses and dances, and banquets, and festivals? Where are the garlands and draperies? Where is the tumult of the city? Where the salutations on the circus, and the flatteries of the spectators? All these things are gone: for the wind having blown with collected strength, has thrown down the leaves and has exhibited the tree naked for us, and what was left of it shaken from its very root; for so great was the assault of the wind as to threaten to drag it up from the roots, and completely to shake the very nerves of the tree. Where are now the artificial friends? where the banquets and the suppers? where the swarms of flatterers? where the unmixed wine poured out for entire days? where the various arts of the cooks, and they and those worshippers of power doing everything and saying everything for *the purpose of* gaining favour? All those things were night and a dream, and disappeared at the arrival of the day; they were spring flowers, and when the spring passed over they withered; they were a shadow, and it flitted away; they were smoke, and they were dissolved; they were bubbles, and they broke; they were spiders' webs, and they were torn. For which reason we inculcate this inspired saying, continually repeating: vanity of vanities, and all is vanity. For it is necessary that the saying should be written upon the walls, upon our clothes, and in the forum, in the house, and on the roads, on the gates, and on the entrances, and above all in the conscience of each one, and that we should at all times meditate

upon it. Since the deceit, and dissimulation, and hypocrisy of affairs seem to the multitude to be truth, it were necessary that each one every day should at supper, and at dinner, and in meetings, should repeat to his neighbour, and hear from his neighbour, "vanity of vanities, and all is vanity".

Did I not say to thee, continually, that wealth is a runaway slave? But thou didst not endure me: did I not say that it is an ungrateful servant? but thou wouldst not believe me. Behold, experience has shown from the facts that is not only a runaway and ungrateful, but a manslayer, for it has brought about that thou shouldst now tremble and fear. Did I not say to thee when thou didst upbraid me speaking the truth, that I loved thee more than did thy flatterers, that I who chide thee have more care for thee than those who gratify thee? Did I not add to those words, that the wounds of friends are more faithworthy than the willing kisses of enemies? If thou didst endure my wounds, these kisses would not have produced this death for thee, for my wounds work health, but these kisses have procured for thee an incurable sickness. Where now are thy cup-bearers?[178] Where are they who worshipped thee in the forum, and spoke innumerable praises of thee before all? They have run away, they have denied their friendship; they procure safety for themselves through thy agony. But we are not as they; nor do we depart from thee suffering adversity, but we embrace thee, and care thee when fallen. And the Church which has been warred upon by thee has opened to thee her bosom, and has received thee; but the theatres which were worshipped by thee, and for which thou hast many times been hostile to me, deserted thee and betrayed thee; but, still we never ceased from always saying: why dost thou do those things? Thou dost rage against the Church, and thou advancest towards precipices: and thou didst neglect all those things; and the horse-races having exhausted thy riches, have sharpened the sword against thee; but the Church, which has been injured by thy unseasonable wrath, runs in every direction wishing to tear thee from their nets.

And I say these *things* not with the view of insulting thee, prostrate as thou art, but as wishing to make those who stand more safe: not with the view of tearing open the sores of him who has been wounded, but in order to maintain those who have not yet been wounded in secure health; not with the view of sinking one who is tossed by the waves, but with a view to instruct those who are sailing before the wind, that they may not themselves become submerged. But how can this take place?

In this way. If we reflect upon the changes of human affairs. For if this man had dreaded change, he would not have awaited it. But since this man did not become better, either by *admonitions* from within or from others, you, therefore, who plume yourselves upon your riches, gain instruction from the misfortunes of this man, for there is nothing more infirm than hu nan fortunes. For which reason, whatever name any one may assign to their worthlessness, he will say less than the reality, though he should call them smoke, though hay, though a dream, though spring flowers, though anything whatever; so frail are they, and so much more truly nothing, than things which have no existence. But that, besides their nothingness, they have much that is precipitous, is manifest from hence. For who was more exalted than this man? Did he not excel the entire world in his riches? Did he not ascend to the very pinnacles of honour? Did not all tremble at, and fear him? But, behold, he has become more unhappy than the chained prisoners, more miserable than slaves, and more needy than the poor who are wasting away with hunger; every day seeing the swords sharpened against him, and the gulf, and the executioner, and the way leading to death; nor, if anything ever happened to him in the way of pleasure at a former time, does he know (recollect) it; nor does he see the light (of the sun) itself; but, in the full mid day, as in the thickest night, shut up within walls he has been deprived of *the use of* his eyes. But how zealously soever we may attempt it, we shall not be able to represent in speech the suffering, which he must necessarily have endured, expecting from hour to hour to be slain. But what need is there of our words, when he himself clearly paints those things for us as in a picture? For yesterday, when there came to him those who had been sent from the imperial court, to drag him away by force, and he ran to the sacred vessels, his countenance was even as now, nothing at all better than that of a dead man; but the rattling and chattering of his teeth, and the terror of his entire body, his broken voice, his faltering tongue, and entire condition, were such as *it were* natural *that any man having them* should have a soul of stone. And I say those things, not as wishing to upbraid, nor as insulting his misfortunes, but wishing to soften your mind, and to draw it to compassion, and persuade it to be satisfied with the punishment that has already taken place.

For, since there are many amongst us so inhuman as even to blame us also, because we have received him at the Bema,

wishing to soften down their cruelty by my recitals, I exhibit to you the sufferings of this man. For, on account of what, tell me, O beloved brother, art thou displeased? Because, he says, he who incessantly waged war upon the Church has fled to the Church. For this precise reason, therefore, ought we to give glory to God, who has placed him in such a strait that he should learn the power and the humanity of the Church; her power, indeed, from the fact that he suffered so great a reverse by reason of his wars against her; and her humanity, because she who had been assailed by him, now throws her shield before him, and has received him under her wings, and has placed him in safety, not cherishing a grudge on account of any of the former injuries, but unfolding her bosom to him with much tenderness. For this is more brilliant than any trophy; this is an illustrious victory; this puts to shame the Heathens, this puts to shame the Jews, this shows her serene countenance, that having received her enemy a captive, she spares him, and that while all have neglected him in abandonment, she, like a tender mother, hid him under her mantle, and stood out against the imperial anger and the intolerable hatred and fury of the people. This is an adornment to the altar. What manner of adornment is it, any one says, that a wicked, avaricious, and rapacious *wretch* should touch the altar? Do not say those things; for the harlot washed the feet of Christ: she who was very wicked and impure; but what had happened was no blame to Jesus, but a great wonder and praise. For the impure woman did not hurt Him who was pure, but He who was pure and blameless rendered the wicked harlot pure by His touch. But, O man, be thou not mindful of injuries, for we are the servants of Him who was crucified, and who says: "Forgive them, for they know not what they do".

But, some one says: Eutropius walled out the *right* of refuge hither, by different writings and laws. But, behold, by the facts, he has learned what kind of things he did; and he himself is the first who has repealed the law by the things which he has done; and he has become a spectacle to the world; and silent though he be, he utters from hence a voice, admonishing all: "Do ye not such things *as I have done*, that you may not suffer such things *as I suffer*". He has been shown as a teacher by His misfortune, and the altar emits a great splendour appearing particularly terrible from this, that it has the lion bound beneath it. For there would be great adornment to the imperial image, not merely when the Emperor is seated upon his throne, clad in purple and wearing the diadem, but also when barbarians, with

their hands bound behind their back, bow down their heads under the imperial feet. And that he has not used persuasiveness of words, you yourselves are witnesses by your zeal and your flockings hither; for the scene is brilliant for us to-day, and our meeting is joyous, and as numerous as appears the people collected on the sacred *festival of* Easter, so numerous do I see it here now; and thus, though silent, has he called you all, sending forth by the facts, a voice louder than that of a trumpet; the virgins leaving their own apartments, and the married women theirs, and the men emptying the forum, ye have all run hither in order that you may see human nature convicted, and the instability of the affairs of life laid bare, and the harlot face which yesterday and the day before shone brilliantly (for such a thing is the prosperity which comes from acts of injustice, that it *now* appears more hideous than any wrinkled old woman), having now rubbed out by reverse of fortune, as with a sponge, its cosmetics and adornments.[179] For so great is the force of this misfortune, it has made the most brilliant and splendid of all men to appear now the most abject.

Should a rich man enter, he gains great *advantages;* for, seeing the man who used to shake the entire world, fallen from so high a pinnacle, and contracted with fear, and become more timid than a hare and than a frog, and without bonds, cleaving to this pillar, and straitened by fear instead of by a chain; and fearing and trembling; he will put off his pride; he will reduce the swelling *of his haughtiness*, and having reasoned as he ought to reason concerning human things, will then depart, having learned by the facts those things which the Scriptures say in words—namely, that all flesh is grass, and that all the glory of man is as the flower of the grass, and that the grass has withered and the flower has fallen, or such as this: "They shall shortly wither away as grass, and as herbs of the green grass shall quickly fall", and: that his days are as smoke: and other like things. Again, the poor man having entered, and having looked at such a sight, does not despise himself, nor bewail his poverty, because it has become to him a place of refuge, and a tranquil harbour, and a safe rampart; and having seen those things, he would, many times choose to remain where he is, rather than having taken for a short time the possessions of all men, then to come into danger of his own life. Dost thou see, now, how no small gain accrues to the rich and to the poor, and to the lowly and to the exalted, and to the bond and the free, from the flight of this man hither? Dost thou see, how each one

having medicine from hence departs, being cured by this very sight alone?

Have I softened your feeling and driven out your anger? Have I extinguished your inhumanity? Have I brought you to compassion? I strongly think I have; your faces show it, and the fountains of your tears.

Since, therefore, the rock has become deep-soiled, and a rich place for you, come on, and bringing forth fruits of mercy, and having shown the full ear of compassion, let us fall before the Emperor; but, rather, let us implore the loving God to soften the wrath of the Emperor, and to make his heart tender, so that he may give to us this absolute favour. And, already from that very day on which this man fled hither, there has been no small change. For when the Emperor knew that he ran to this place of sanctuary, the army being present, and being exasperated at the injustices of this man, and demanding him for slaughter, he pronounced a long address, appeasing the anger of the army, asking it to take into account, not only the offences of Eutropius, but also any good action of his, if there were such, and confessing that he was grateful, indeed, for the latter, and forgiving him as man for those things which were otherwise. But, when they insisted again upon vengeance for the insulted Emperor, roaring, leaping, thinking of death, and shaking their spears, at length, having let fall springs of tears from his most clement eyes, and reminding them of the sacred table to which Eutropius had fled, he thus appeased their anger.

Let us also contribute what depends upon ourselves. For, of what pardon should you be worthy, if, seeing that the outraged Emperor was not mindful of injuries, you, who have suffered nothing such, should show so great anger? But how, when this exhibition shall have ceased, can you touch the sacraments, and pronounce that prayer in which we are commanded to say: Forgive us as we forgive our debtors: while you call for punishment against your debtor? He has committed great acts of injustice and outrage, nor can we say anything to the contrary. But this is not the season of the tribunal, but of mercy; not of accusation but of kindness; not of inquiry, but of forgiveness; not of the sentence and the judgment, but of compassion and of grace. Let not, therefore, any one be enraged, or bear it ill, but let us rather ask the loving God to give him a prolongation of life, and to snatch him from the threatened slaughter, so that he may put off his offences, and let us go in a body to our loving Emperor, asking him to yield one man to the holy table

for the sake of the Church and of the altar. If we do this, the Emperor himself will take it kindly, and God will commend us, before the Emperor does so, and He will give us a great exchange for our humanity. For even as He turns away from, and hates the cruel and inhuman man, so does He admit and love him who is merciful and humane. But if this *merciful man* were previously just, He weaves for him a more brilliant crown; but if he were a sinner, He forgives his sin, paying to him this exchange for his compassion towards his fellow servant. For "I will have mercy", He says, "and not sacrifice"; and thou seest Him everywhere throughout the Scriptures asking this, and saying that this is the remission of sins. Thus also shall we make Him merciful towards us; thus shall we expiate our sins; thus shall we adorn the Church; thus will the humane Emperor praise us as I have just said, and the entire people will applaud, and the ends of the Earth will marvel at the humanity and the mildness of our city, and people everywhere throughout the Earth, upon hearing what has happened, will glorify us. That, therefore, we may enjoy such advantages, let us prostrate ourselves, let us beseech, let us beg, let us snatch from danger the captive, the fugitive, the suppliant, in order that we ourselves may obtain a part in the good things to come, through the grace and love of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be honour and power, now and for ever, world without end.—Amen.

SECOND HOMILY.

UPON THE RETURN OF FLAVIAN.

From the expression, from which always in the season of danger, I have been accustomed to open my appeal to your love, from the very same, to-day, do I begin my address to you, and I will say with you: Blessed be God, who has deigned to grant that we should spend to-day this sacred feast with joy and gladness: who has also restored the head to the body, and the shepherd to the sheep, the teacher to the disciples, the general to the soldiers, the high priest to the priests. Blessed be God, who does superabundantly more than we ask or expect.

For, to us indeed, it appeared to be enough that we should be relieved from the immediately impending evils; and for this *object* we have made our entire supplication; but the loving God

who always surpasses our requests with great excess, has also given back to us our father more quickly than any expectation. For who could have expected that he would depart, and have a conference with the Emperor, and would remove our misfortunes, and would return to us so quickly as to anticipate the paschal solemnity and celebrate it with you? But, behold, this unexpected thing has happened, and we have recovered our father, and we reap a greater pleasure in recovering him now beyond our hope. But on account of all those things, let us return thanks to our loving God, and let us marvel at His power, and His love of men, and His wisdom, and the care which has existed upon His part for the city. For the Devil attempted to destroy her entirely on account of the outrages committed; but God adorned the city, and the priest, and the Emperor, through our misfortune, and exhibited them all more brilliant.

For, the city, indeed, was glorified; because, when such a danger had seized upon her, she having passed over all those in places of power; those, who had surrounded themselves with riches, those having great power with the Emperor, fled to the Church and to the priests of God, and with much faith placed her dependance upon the hope from above. While many, therefore, after the departure of our common father, were disheartening the inhabitants of the prison, and saying, that the Emperor will not dismiss his wrath, but is becoming more exasperated, and plans the total subversion of the city; and while they were publishing many other things besides those, the prisoners became nothing more timid by reason of the report; but, when we said to them that those things were lies, and the work of the contrivance of the Devil, wishing to subdue your minds: we have no need, they said, of consolation *directed* to us through words, for we know whither we have fled in the beginning, and to what kind of hope we have attached ourselves. We have affixed our salvation to the sacred anchor: we have not entrusted this *salvation* to man, but to the Omnipotent God. For which reason we are confident that the end will be altogether prosperous; for, it is not *possible*, it is not *possible*, that this hope should ever be put to shame. How many crowns, how many praises, is not this *fact* worth to the city? How much good-will from God will it not attract to us in the other circumstances *of the state?* For it is not, it *certainly* is not *the character* of an ordinary soul, in the assault of temptations, to watch, and to look to God, and having mocked at all human things, to yearn after that alliance.

Therefore, the city was thus glorified, and the priest again not less than the city: for he gave his own soul for all, and while there were many things to prevent him, the winter, his age, the festival, and not less than *any of these*, his sister being at the last gasp, he became exalted above all impediments, and did not say to himself: What is this? the only sister left to us, she who had drawn with me the yoke of the Lord, and who has dwelt with me so long a time, is now at the last gasp; but, shall we, having left her, go away, and shall we not see her expiring, and uttering the last sounds? But she, from day to day, prayed that we should close her eyes, and shut her mouth, and compose *her limbs*, and take care of all the other matters for her burial; but now, like one abandoned and wanting a protector, shall she experience none of those *kind offices* from her brother, from whom she most desired to receive them, but, sending forth her soul, shall she not see him, the most desirable to her of all? And than how many deaths will not this be more grievous to her? For, if I were absent at a distance, ought I not to run, and to do, and to suffer all things in order to afford her this kindness? But now, being near her, am I to abandon her, and dismissing her, am I to go? And how will she endure the days afterwards?

But, not only did he not say any of those things, but not even did he think them; but reverencing the fear of God before any kindred, he well knew this, that as the storms try the pilot, and as dangers try the general, so temptation makes the priest appear. All, he says, both Jews and heathens, strain towards us; let us not put to shame their hopes concerning us, nor let us overlook so great a shipwreck, but committing all things of ours to God, let us give up our soul itself. And consider the magnanimity of the priest and the tenderness of God. He enjoyed all those things which he overlooked, in order that he might receive a reward of his zeal, and might experience a greater pleasure on account of the enjoyment beyond his expectation. He chose to celebrate the festival in a foreign land, and far from his countrymen, for the preservation of the city; but God restored him to us before the paschal festival, that he might spend the common festival with us in order that he might have the reward of his preference, and might enjoy the greater pleasure. He did not fear the season of the year, and heat prevailed during the entire time of his journey from home; he did not take his age into account, and as a young and vigorous man, thus with ease he traversed that long way. He did not consider the end of his sister, and upon his return he overtook her living, and obtained all those things which he had neglected.

And the priest indeed thus became glorious before God and man: but this matter adorned the Emperor more brilliantly than did his diadem. First of all, it became manifest that, what he granted to no other, he would grant to the priests; and next, that with great speed he granted the pardon and dismissed his anger. But, in order that you may learn more clearly both the magnanimity of the king, and the wisdom of the priest, and before both of them the love of God for man, allow me to relate for you a little of the address there delivered. But, I will tell you what I learned from those who were inside, for the father himself told us nothing small nor great, but imitating the magnanimity of Paul, always hid his own good actions, and to people asking him in all directions what he said to the Emperor, and how he persuaded him, and how he expelled all his anger, he said these words: We have contributed nothing to the matter; but the Emperor himself, God softening his heart, even before our words, dismissed his anger, and speaking about things that happened, as if concerning some one else who had been outraged, he mentioned all the things that had happened, without wrath. But, what he himself concealed from lowliness of spirit, that, God brought forward. But what are those things? Repeating the account a little higher up, I shall relate them for you.

For when he went out from the city, leaving us all in such despondency, he suffered far more grievous things than we who were in the actual danger; for, having met, in the middle of the journey, those who had been sent by the Emperor upon the inquiry into the things that had happened, and having learned from them for what things they had been sent, and thinking upon the evils about to take possession of the city—*namely*, the tumults, perturbations, the flight, the fear, the anguish, *the* dangers, he gave vent to springs of tears, his bowels being cut *with grief:* for it is the way with fathers to grieve more when they are not able to be present with their children when the children are suffering; which this father, most loving of his children, suffered also, bewailing not only the evils about to overtake us, but also lamenting that he should be absent while we were suffering those things. But, this also happened for your safety: for when he learned those things from them (the officers), he gave vent to warm springs of tears, and fled to God with still greater vehemence of supplication, and spent the nights without sleep, praying that he might come to the aid of the city suffering those things, and that he would make the disposition of the Emperor milder.

But when he ascended to that great city, and entered the imperial hall, he stood at a distance from the Emperor, voiceless,

weeping, bending downwards, shrinking from view,[180] as though he himself were the one who had committed all the offences. And he did this, desiring by his dress, by his countenance, by his tears, first to draw the Emperor to compassion, and then to begin his plea for us. For the only way of pardon left to the sinner is to be silent, and not to say anything in defence of the things that have happened. For he wished to take away one feeling and to introduce another, to expel passion, indeed, but to introduce calmness, in order that he might thus smooth a way for the words of his pleading, which therefore also came to pass. And, as Moses, when he ascended the mountain, after the fall of the people, himself stood voiceless until God called him, saying: "Let Me alone, that I may destroy this people", even so did he (Flavian). The Emperor, therefore, seeing him weeping and stooping downwards, himself went up to him, and showed by his words *addressed* to him, what he suffered from the tears of the priest. For his words were not those of one in passion, nor of one indignant, but of one in grief; not of one in anger, but rather of one sad, and held by excessive sorrow. And, that this is true, you yourselves hearing the words, shall see. For he did not say, "What is this? thou hast come, bearing an embassy on behalf of the wicked, and utterly wicked men, of tyrants, of revolutionists, of men deserving of every punishment, and who ought not *to be allowed* to live". But having put aside all those words, he composed a plea for himself full of respect and gravity, and enumerated the benefits wherewith during the entire time of his reign he benefited our city; and regarding each one of them he said: "Ought I to have suffered those things in recompense for those favours? For what acts of injustice did they inflict this penalty on me? Having what to complain of, either great or small, did they commit outrages, not against me only, bnt against the departed? Was it not enough for them to have gratified their passion upon the living? but unless they should insult the buried, they thought they should do nothing daring". *Admit*, we have been unjust as they think; for that reason they ought to have spared the dead, who had done no injustice, for they had not those things to blame them with. Did I not always prefer this city of all others, and regard it as more an object of longing than the city which gave me birth? and was it not the business of incessant prayer for me to see that city, and did I not make this oath amongst all?

Here, the priest having groaned bitterly, and having shed warmer tears, was no longer silent. For he saw that the defence of the Emperor was making our accusation greater, but fetching from below a deep and bitter groan,—

"We confess", he says, "and do not deny, O Emperor, that love which thou hast shown for our country; and for this reason in particular do we lament, because the demons envied the so much loved city; and because we have appeared ungrateful towards our benefactor, and have exasperated against us him who so greatly loved us. Though thou shouldst raze the *city* to the earth, or burn it, or slay *the inhabitants*, or whatever else thou mayest do, thou never couldst exact an adequate penalty from us. Anticipating this, we have inflicted upon ourselves punishments worse than a thousand deaths. For what can be more bitter than that when we appear to have unjustly exasperated our benefactor, and one so loving, the entire world should learn it, and should accuse us of the last degree of ingratitude?

"If barbarians, invading the city, had razed the walls and burned the houses, and having taken us captives, had departed, the misfortune would have been less. Why so? Because while thou wast living, and exhibiting such love towards us, there would be a hope that all those evils could be put an end to, and that we would again return to our former condition and would receive more brilliant freedom; but now, thy affection being taken away, and the charm being burned, which was a greater protection to us than any wall, to whom shall we fly henceforward? In what direction elsewhere shall we be able to look, having exasperated so sweet a master and so indulgent a father? Wherefore, they (*the citizens*) appear, indeed, to have done intolerable things; but they have suffered things the most terrible of all; not venturing to look any man in the face, nor being able to see the sun himself with free eyes, shame in every direction contracting their eyelids and forcing them to hide. Freedom of speech being taken away from them, they now are in a condition more miserable than that of any captive, and they endure the utmost ignominy; and reflecting upon the greatness of their evils, and to what a depth of outrage they have tripped away, neither are they able to breathe, having drawn upon themselves all the men who inhabit the entire world as more vehement accusers on account of him who appears to have been outraged.

But if thou wish, O Emperor, there is a cure for this wound, and a medicine for those evils. This often happened in the case of private men. Great and unendurable offences became the occasion of a great state of things, and thus it happens in our *human* nature. For when God made man, and led him into Paradise, and deemed him worthy of great honour, the Devil, not enduring so great a happiness, envied him, and expelled him

from the precedence which had been given to him; but God not only did not abandon him, but instead of Paradise, opened Heaven to him; by this very fact showing His own love of man, and punishing the Devil more seriously. This same do thou also. The devils have set all things in motion now, so as to tear from thy affection the most beloved city of all; knowing, therefore, this, exact what penalty thou wilt, but do not expel us from thy former friendship. But if it be necessary to say something wonderful, show to us now a greater kindness, and again enrol the city amongst the foremost of those loved by thee, if thou wish to take vengeance upon the demons who have brought about those things. For if thou destroy, and raze to the earth, and blot out the city, thou wilt do those things which they long ago wished that *thou* shouldst do; but if thou dismiss thy anger, and confess that thou lovest her again as formerly thou didst love her, thou hast given to them a deadly wound, and hast exacted from them the utmost penalty, having shown them not only that nothing more has accrued to them from their plot, but that all things have happened contrary to what they wished. But thou wouldst be just in doing those things, and in having compassion upon the city to which the demons bore envy on account of thy friendship; for if thou hadst not loved it so ardently, neither would they have so much envied it. Thus, even if the assertion be wonderful, it is, nevertheless, true, that the city has suffered those things on account of thy friendship. Beyond what burnings, beyond what subversion, are not those words bitter which thou didst speak in answering on thy own behalf?

"Now, thou sayest that thou hast been outraged, and hast suffered such things as none of the former emperors have suffered. But if thou wish, O most humane and wise Emperor, and full *as thou art* of much piety, this very outrage will recompense thee with a greater and more brilliant crown than thy diadem. For this diadem is, indeed, a manifestation of thy merit, and a mark of the liberality of him who gave it, but the crown twined for thee out of thy humanity will be thy own desert alone, and that of thy philosophy; and all men will admire thee not so much on account of those precious stones, as they will praise thee on account of thy contempt of thy anger. They have destroyed thy statues, but it is in thy power to erect more brilliant statues than those. For if thou forgive those offences to them who have acted unjustly, and inflict no punishment, they will set thee up upon the market place, not in brass, nor in gold, nor inlaid with precious stones, but clothed with mercy and kindliness, and in

this way, a monument more precious than any other material. Thus, they will, each one, erect thee in their mind, and thou wilt have as many statues as there are men who inhabit, and will inhabit, the world. For it is not we alone, but those who are to be after us, and those after them, who will hear those things, and as if they themselves had been the parties benefitted, even so will admire and love thee. And to show thee that I do not say these things as flattering thee, but that they will be altogether as I describe them, I shall tell to thee a certain ancient history, in order that thou mayest learn that armies, and arms, and riches, and the multitude of subjects, and other such things, have not been wont to make kings so illustrious as philosophy of soul and clemency.

"The blessed Constantine, when a statue of his had been stoned, and when they were exciting him to go against those who had outraged him, and were saying that they had wounded his entire face, flinging stones against it, is reported, having felt his face with his hand, and gently smiling, to have said, "I see no wound anywhere inflicted upon my face; but my head is whole, and my entire countenance is whole"; and *it is said* that they, blushing and ashamed, retreated from their evil design. And all men, even to the present day, recite this saying of his, and so great a length of time has not damaged nor exhausted the recollection of this philosophy. Than how many trophies is not this much more excellent? He, indeed, founded many cities and overcame many barbarians, but we remember none of those things But this speech of his is celebrated up to the present day, and those after us, and those after them, will all hear it. And it is not the only wonderful circumstance that they shall hear it; but that with praises and commendations those who mention it speak, and those who hear it receive the intelligence; nor is there any one who, having heard this, will endure to be silent, but at once exclaims and praises him who has spoken such words, and prays that ten thousand good things may happen to him departed.

"And why is it necessary to quote Constantine, and examples drawn from others *than thyself*, when there is only need to exhort thee from *examples found* at home, and from thine own good actions? For, call to mind, that lately, this feast coming on, thou didst send a letter everywhere throughout the world, commanding that those inhabiting the prisons should be discharged, and that their offences should be forgiven; and how, those things not being sufficient to show thy humanity, thou didst

say by thy letters: 'Would that it were allowed me to call back and to raise up the departed, and to bring them back to their former life'. Recollect those expressions now. Behold, now is the time to call back and raise up the departed, and to bring them back to their former life. For they, indeed, have already died, even before the sentence was issued, and the city is encamped at the very gates of Hell. Raise her up thou from thence, without money, without expense, without loss of time, and without any labour. For it is only necessary for thee to speak, and to raise up the city now lying in darkness. Now, grant that she may henceforward take her name from thy humanity. For neither will she have such gratitude to him who founded her originally as to thy decree, and very justly. For he, indeed, having given a beginning to her, departed; but thou wilt raise her up, having already been increased and become great, and having been ruined after that great prosperity. For, it were not so wonderful, if after the enemies had taken her, and barbarians had invaded her, thou then should free her from danger, as it is wonderful that now thou shouldst spare her. For, many times, many kings have done the former, but thou wilt alone have done the latter, and *wilt be* the first *to do it* beyond all expectation. And the former, indeed, is nothing wonderful or incredible, but it is amongst the things which happen every day, that every one should rule over his subjects; but that one who has suffered such and so great things, should dismiss his anger,—this transcends all human nature.

"Consider, now, that thou hast to deliberate, not only concerning this city, but concerning thy own glory, or rather concerning that also of universal Christianity. Now, the Jews also, and the heathens, and the barbarians (for they too have heard those things), strain towards thee, waiting to see what kind of sentence thou wilt pass concerning the things which have happened. If thou pass a humane and clement sentence, all will praise thy decree, and will glorify God, and will say: 'O truly! how great is the power of Christianity, that a man having no equal upon Earth, having it in his power to ruin and to destroy all things, has refrained, and has bridled himself in, and has taught to practise a philosophy which not even a private man would show. The God of the Christians is truly great, who out of men makes angels, and places them higher than all natural necessity'.

"For neither shouldst thou dread that superfluous fear, nor shouldst thou endure some men, saying that the other cities will be worse, and will be more contemptuous of authority, this one

not having been punished. For, if thou found it impossible to go against *the city*, and if those who have done those things had overcome thee by force, and their power were equal to thine, then justly mightest thou suspect those things. But if they have been terrified, and have died of fear, by anticipation, and through me have run to thy feet, and from day to day expect nothing but the gulf *of ruin*, and make common supplications, looking to Heaven, and imploring of God to come and to coöperate in the same embassy with us, and if, as though they were at their last breath, each one has taken order for his own affairs, how is thy fear not superfluous? Had they been ordered to be slaughtered, they could not have suffered such things as they suffer now, living together for so many days in fear and trembling, and, as evening advanced, not expecting to see the morning, and when day arrived, not expecting to reach the evening. Many also, flying to the deserts, and having emigrated to inaccessible places, have fallen *victims* to wild beasts, not only men, but little children, and free and noble women, having been hiding for many days and nights in caves and clefts, and the holes of the desert. And a new description of captivity holds the city: while the houses and the walls are standing, they suffer harsher punishments than cities which have been burned. No barbarians being present, and no enemy appearing, they are in a more miserable condition than those already taken captive, and a leaf merely in motion terrifies them all every day. And all men know those things, and if they saw the city razed to the earth, they should not be so effectually admonished as now, when they hear the misfortunes of this city. Do not, therefore, think this, that the other cities will become worse. Not even if thou shouldst raze the other cities, wouldst thou so admonish them, as thou now teachest them more sharply than by any punishment, through the obscure expectation of the things about to happen.

"Do not protract their misfortune for them any longer, but suffer them henceforward to breathe. For, to punish subjects and to exact the penalty of their offences, is altogether easy and ready; but to spare those who have outraged thee, and to give pardon to those who have offended unpardonably, is hardly *the virtue* of one or two, and especially when he who has been insulted is an emperor. And it is an easy thing to subdue the city by force; but to render all attached to thee, and to persuade them to be well affected to thy government, and to make not only public but even private prayers for thy empire, is a difficult piece of virtue. Not even if one were to spend myriads of money, or set

in motion myriads of troops, or do whatever else he may please, he will not be able easily to draw to himself the disposition of so many men, a thing which will now be easy and simple for thee. For they who have been benefited, and those who shall have heard those things, equally with those who have themselves been benefited, will be well affected towards thee. But with how much money wouldst thou not buy, with how many labonrs wouldst thou not buy, that in a brief moment of time thou shouldst be able to gain over the whole world, and to induce all the men now existing, and all who will come afterwards, that whatsoever things they pray for their own children, the same will they pray for thy head! But if thou secure those things from men, think what a reward thou wilt receive from God, not only of the righteous actions now taking place, but of those which after those things will be done by others.

"For if it should ever come to pass that anything should happen, such as happened now (which Heaven forefend), and any of those outraged should wish to be avenged of those who had outraged them, thy clemency and thy philosophy will be to them in lieu of all teaching and admonition, and they will blush and feel ashamed, that, having those examples of philosophy before them, they should appear worse than thou. Wherefore, thou wilt be the teacher of all who come after those things, and thou wilt have the prize beyond them, even though they should reach the very summit of philosophy. For it is not fair that any one should be the first to begin so much clemency, and then looking towards others, should imitate their acts of virtue. For this reason, how great humanity and clemency soever others will show after thee, thou wilt receive the reward with them, for he who affords the root, he also should be the author of the fruits. For this reason no one now will be able to divide with thee the reward which belongs to thy humanity. For it is thy own merit only. But with all *who shall come* after those things, should any such appear, thou wilt be able to divide the merit equally, and to bear away as great a share as masters do from their disciples; and if no one such should be, again thou shalt have commendation and praises in every generation.

"For, reflect how great a thing it is that all who come after those things should hear, that so great a city becoming obnoxious to punishment and revenge, while all alike, generals, and prefects, and judges, were shuddering and fearing, and not daring to utter a sound on behalf of those wretched men, one old man coming forward, and bearing the priesthood of God, by his appearance

only and his conversation, has moved the sovereign; and that what he granted to no one under him, that did he give to one old man, having reverenced the laws of God. For as to this particular also, O King, the city in no small degree honoured thee, having sent me upon this embassy; for it expressed the best and most honourable opinion concerning thee—namely, that thou dost honour the priests of God, even though they may happen to be lowly, before the entire empire lying beneath thee. For I come not only from them alone, but before *having been sent by* them, I have been sent by the common Master of men and angels, to say those things to thy most gentle and clement soul, that if you forgive their debts to men, your Heavenly Father will forgive you your offences. Be mindful, therefore, of that day in which we shall render an account of our actions; consider that if any sin have been committed by thee also, thou mayest wash away thy offences by this sentence, by this disposition, without labour, without sweat.

"Other ambassadors, indeed, bring with them gold, and silver, and other such gifts, but I have come to thy Imperial dignity with the laws of God, and in lieu of all those gifts I hold forth these, and I exhort thee to imitate thy Master, who, being outraged by us from day to day, never ceases from supplying His benefits to all; and do not disappoint our hopes, nor make void our promises. For I wish thee to know this, along with the rest, that if thou be willing to be reconciled, and again to share thy former affection with the city, and to forego this just anger, I will return with much confidence; but if thou expel the city from thy consideration, not only will I not return, and will not see its soil again, but I will deny it henceforward for ever, and will enrol myself in another city. For, far be it from me that I should be enrolled in that city, with which thou, the most humane and clement of all men, wouldst not consent to be at peace and to be reconciled".

Saying those things, and more than those, he so moved the Emperor, that the same things took place which formerly happened to take place in the instance of Joseph. For, as he formerly, upon seeing his brethren, wished to weep, but concealed his feelings in order that he might not destroy his disguise; so, the Emperor wept in spirit, but did not show it on account of all who were present; for, in the end, he was not able to conceal his feelings, but even unwilling was overcome. For, after this address, he did not require other words, but he spoke one only word, which adorned him more than his diadem. But what is

this? "What wonderful and great thing is it", he says, "if we, being men ourselves, dismiss our anger against those who are men; seeing that the Master of the world having once come upon Earth, and becoming a slave for us, and having been crucified for them He had served, nevertheless, prayed to His Father for those who had crucified Him, saying: 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do'. What wonder is it, therefore, if we forgive our fellow servants?"

And that those words were not a pretence, all the things which took place showed; and not less than those, that which I am about to tell. For, he compelled the priest, who wished to celebrate this feast there in common with him, to hurry and to hasten, and to show himself to the citizens. "I know", he says, "that now their souls are disturbed, and that there are many effects of their misfortunes remaining. Depart and comfort them. If they see the pilot, they will not remember the tempest that has past, but they will entirely efface even the very recollection of their griefs". But when the priest resisted, asking that he should send his own son, he, wishing to show how he had totally wiped out all wrath from his mind, "Pray," he says, "that those hindrances *may* be taken away, and that those wars may be extinguished, and I myself will go by all means". What could be more clement than this soul? Let the heathens henceforward be ashamed, or, rather let them not be ashamed, but let them be instructed, and discarding their native error, let them return the virtue of Christianity, having learned our doctrine from the Emperor and from the priest.

For, neither did the most pious Emperor stop short here, but when the priest had set out from the city, and had crossed the sea, being anxious and busily concerned, he sent some persons thither *to induce* him that he should not spend the time, and should not give the citizens their pleasure by halves, celebrating the feast outside. What tender father ever exercised such zeal for those who had outraged him? I shall mention another title of the just (Flavian) to praise. For, having got ready those things, he did not hasten, as any one else desirous of praise would have done, to carry the letters dissipating our sadness. But since he himself was going somewhat slowly, he asked another person, one of those who could ride, to go forward, and bear the good news to the city, in order that its despondency should not be prolonged by the delay of his return. For, his sole reason for hastening was, not that he might himself come bearing the fortunate news, full of much pleasure, but in order that our country might breathe again.

What, therefore, you then did, when you crowned the forum, and kindled lamps, and strewed beds of leaves before the factories, and celebrated a festival as if the city had just been founded; that same, in a different way, do ye, throughout all time, crowning yourselves not with flowers, but with virtue, kindling in your soul a light from your works, rejoicing with spiritual joy, and let us not cease *from* constantly thanking God, not only because he dissolved our evils, but because he permitted that they should happen, and let us confess that we owe him great thanks; for, both through *our sufferings and our deliverance* has he glorified our city. But all those things, according to the prophetic oracle, announce ye to your children, and let your children announce them to their children, and they again to another generation, in order that all who are to be unto the consummation, having learned the mercy of God which has taken place for the city, may congratulate us, who have enjoyed so much kindness, and may admire our master, who has raised up a city which had fallen so deep, and may themselves be gainers, being impelled to piety by all the things that have taken place. For the account of the things which have happened to us will be able to assist in the greatest degree not only us, if we keep them constantly in recollection, but those also who come after us. All which things, therefore, taking into account, let us always thank our loving God, not only in the removal of our evils, but the permission of our evils, having learned, both from the Holy Scriptures and from the things which have happened to us, that He disposes everything for our need with the love which belongs to Him. Enjoying which perpetually, may it come to pass that we obtain the Kingdom of Heaven in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory and power for ever and ever. Amen.

ANTHUSA.

TO ST. JOHN.

But the continual spells of my mother prevented me from giving to him this favour, or, rather, from receiving at his hands this gift. For when she perceived that I was planning those things, taking me by the right hand, she led me into the portion of the house set apart for her, and, seating me near her, upon the bed upon which she brought us forth, she both shed springs

of tears, and added words more pitiable than the tears, saying such things as follow, lamentingly, to us: "I was not long permitted", she says, "my child, to enjoy the virtue of thy father, this appearing fit to God: for his death immediately following my throes *at thy birth*, caused for thee indeed orphanage, but for me an untimely widowhood, and the sufferings of widowhood, which those alone who have endured them can clearly know: for no words could express the tempest and the storm which a girl undergoes, having lately gone forth from her father's house, and being inexperienced in business, but who, suddenly buffeted with intolerable grief, is obliged to take upon her a care greater than her age and sex. For it is necessary for her, I think, to remedy the laziness of servants, and to guard against their dishonesty, and to protect herself against the snares of relations, and bravely to bear the injuries of those who collect the taxes, and their inhumanity in the collection of the taxes. But if he who has died have departed leaving a child, that child, if it be a female, even so, will cause its mother much solicitude, but, nevertheless, a solicitude discharged from care and fear. But a son fills her every day with hope and fear, and with more cares *than does a daughter*. For I pass over the expense of money which she is compelled to undergo, wishing to educate him liberally. But, nevertheless, none of those things induced me to engage in second nuptials, or bring another bridegroom into the house of thy father. But I remained in the storm and in the whirlwind, and did not fly from the iron furnace of widowhood, first of all being assisted by aid from above; but next, it afforded me no small solace of my sufferings, that I should continually see thy countenance and should keep a living picture of thy dead father, and one accurately fashioned after his likeness. Wherefore, when thou wast still an infant, and not as yet having learned to speak,—when children most delight their parents,—thou didst afford me great consolation. But neither couldst thou have that to say and to blame me with, that indeed I endured widowhood bravely, but that I lessened for thee thy paternal property on account of the need of my widowhood,—a thing which I know that many of those unfortunate in their orphanage have suffered. For indeed I have preserved all this for thee undiminished; although I omitted to spend nothing of the things that were necessary for thy education, having defrayed the charges out of my own means and the resources of my own property, having which I came from my father's house. And do not imagine that I now say these things as upbraiding thee.

But in recompense of all these things I ask one favour from thee, that thou shalt not involve me in a second widowhood, and shalt not again excite my buried grief. But await thou my end. Perhaps I shall depart after a short time. There is a hope that the young will reach an advanced old age; but we, who have grown old, await nothing else than death. When, therefore, thou shalt have consigned me to the earth, and shalt have mingled me with the bones of thy father, undertake distant travel and sail whatever sea thou wishest; then there will be no one to prevent thee. But as long as we breathe, endure the residence with us, and do not offend God vainly and rashly, exposing to so great evils, us, who have nowise injured thee. If indeed thou have to complain that I draw thee to worldly cares, and force thee to attend to thy own concerns,—have no regard to the laws of nature, nor to thy nurture, nor to our companionship, nor to anything else, but fly from them as plotters and as enemies. But if we do all things so as to procure for thee much leisure for the concern of this *spiritual* life of thine, let this chain at least hold thee with us. For if thou say that myriads love thee, no one will enable thee to enjoy such freedom, since there is no one to whom thy repute is a concern equally with me.

CONCERNING THE SUBLIMITY OF ST. PAUL.

It remains now that we should equal him to angels. And let no one accuse the daring of the expression. For if the Scripture called John an angel, why dost thou wonder if we compare to those virtues, Paul, who is better than all of them? For Paul, of all men, has shown especially what man is, and what is the nobility of our nature, and of how much virtue this animal (*man*) is susceptible, who, from the time when he was born until now, has stood forward against all laying blame to our nature, answering, on behalf of the master with a loud voice, and showing that there is not much interval between men and angels, if we wish to attend to ourselves. For he, not having had allotted to him a different nature from ours, nor having partaken of a different soul, nor having inhabited a different world, but in the same earth, in the same region, reared under the same laws and manners, has outdone all men who have been, since men were begotten; and as a dead man remains motionless beside a dead

man, *persisted* so in repressing the boundings of nature, that he never at any time suffered anything human from any one. Why, therefore, is it that Paul, adorned with such acts of virtue, and appearing, as it were, an angel upon Earth, laboured every day to gain increase of merit, and to be prepared against the dangers on behalf of truth, and to collect the spiritual merchandise for himself, and never to stand still? What excuse could we have who are not only destitute of all merits, but, being subject to so many evil acts, one only of which being added to us, is sufficient to lead us into the gulf of perdition, but who make no effort to amend those things, nor to speak of applying ourselves to works of virtue? Was not this blessed man of the same nature with us? For I burn with the desire for the man; and for this reason, I do not cease from continually turning him over in my mind, and looking as into some archetypal picture into his soul; I calculate his contempt of the passions, the excess of his manliness, the fervour of his love for God, and I am stricken with amazement *when I consider* how one man, having wished to do so, should have accomplished the entire collection of virtues. Who, therefore, shall snatch us from the inexorable punishment, while Paul has shown such a greatness of virtue; he who was a sharer of the same nature with us, he who was subject to the same passions, he who was in as great difficulty of the times, and was daily dragged, and torn, and publicly hauled along by those who made war upon the preachings of the Gospel?

UPON ANGER.

Dost thou wish to learn how great an evil it is to be angry? Stand beside those who are fighting in the forum. For thou wilt not readily be able to see in thyself, weakened as thou art, and intoxicated, the indecency *of the vice.* But when thou art free from the passion, then rather mayest thou contemplate thy own *failings.* For when anger boiling rises and rages about the breast, the mouth breathes fire, the eyes emit fire, the face everywhere swells, the hands are irregularly stretched out, and the feet leap ridiculously and jump upon those restraining them; and they are in no way different from mad men, nay not even from wild asses, kicking and biting; to such an extent is a passionate man ill regulated. But his breast swells, he says, and is bitten by insults: I know that myself. For which reason I

wonder at those who overcome it. For, if we wish, it is possible to repel this passion.

Should any one have much money and possessions, let him use them as if he were a sojourner, and a little later obliged to leave them, willing or unwilling. But if any one be injured by another, let him not be angry undyingly; nay, not even for a time. For, "let not the sun", he says, "set upon your anger". For this passion has subverted entire houses, and has dissolved ancient friendships, and has wrought innumerable tragedies.

Therefore, when any one injures thee, do not look to him, but to the demon who has excited the man, and exhaust upon him all thy anger; but have pity upon the man who has been excited by him. For if lying be from the Devil, much more is being angry without cause. It is not possible to be angry if there be no one to provoke us; but we may have desire, even when the appearance which excites this desire is not present. When any one shall have outraged thee, think of the punishment wherewith he is punished, and not only wilt thou not have anger, but thou wilt shed tears. For no one is exasperated against a man in fever, nor against one in agitation; but he pities all such, and laments them. But if thou wish to be avenged, be silent, and thou inflictest on him a deadly wound. But if being bitten, thou dost insult him, thou dost force it to be believed that the things said of thee are true. For why is it that a rich man, hearing that he is poor, laughs? Because he is not conscious to himself of poverty. If, therefore, we shall laugh at insults, we shall give the greatest proof that we are not conscious of the things said. Has any one outraged thee? Implore God that He may be merciful to him speedily, for he is thy brother, he is thy member. "But he greatly insults me", he says: therefore on account of this, thy reward will be greater. For this reason, especially, is it right to dismiss thy anger; because the Devil has wounded him, thy antagonist. Do not thou, therefore, rebuke him, and overturn thyself along with him. As long as thou dost stand, thou canst save him, but if thou fling thyself down for the sake of returning insult for insult, who will for the future raise you *both?*

GRANDEUR OF THE WORKS OF ST. PAUL.

THIS is the brilliant victory: this is the trophy of the Church: thus is the Devil overthrown while we suffer. For he is van-

quished by us who suffer, and suffers injury himself when he wishes to do injury to us. Which also occurred in the case of Paul. And in proportion as the Devil caused greater dangers for him, by so much the more was he worsted. For he did not contrive one single species of temptations, but various and manifold kinds. For some of them had labour, some depression, some fear, some grief, some care, some shame, some all together. But, nevertheless, he (Paul) conquered in all. And if, as a single soldier having the entire world warring against him, should move in the midst of the enemies' ranks, and should suffer no harm; so Paul, appearing alone, amid barbarians, amid Greeks, everywhere on land, everywhere on sea, remained unconquered. And as a certain spark falling upon stubble and hay, changes into its own nature the things burned; thus he, invading all, drew over all to the truth, rushing upon all things like a torrent, and overcoming all obstacles. And like a certain athlete, himself, wrestling, running, boxing, or a soldier attacking walls, fighting on foot, fighting on board ship; thus he went through every species of fight, and breathed fire, and was unapproachable to all; including the earth in one body, and overturning all with one tongue. Not thus, *forcibly*, did the many trumpets fall upon the walls of the city of Jericho, and demolish them; as his voice resounding flung to earth the ramparts of the Devil, and transferred the enemies to his own side. And when he took a multitude of captives, he himself having armed them, rendered them again his own army, and through them conquered wonderfully. David prostrated Goliath with a single stone, but if thou wilt examine the merits of Paul, that *achievement* will appear the work of a child, and thou wilt see that as is the distance between a shepherd and a general, so great is the difference *between David and Paul.* For the latter did not *merely* slay Goliath by flinging a stone, but having barely raised his voice, he routed the entire phalanx of the Devil; and as a lion roaring and emitting flame from his mouth, he was thus unapproachable by all, and leaped continually in every direction. He ran to these, he advanced to those, he passed over to these, he sprang across to others, and guiding the entire world like a single house or a single boat, drawing out those who had been sunk, steadying those who were dizzy, giving orders to the sailors, sitting at the poop, looking round the prow, stretching the cables, handling the oar, drawing the mast, looking to the skies—being all those things himself, both sailor and pilot and steersman and look-out man, and sail, and boat, and suffering all things in order that he might remove the evils of others.

But look: he underwent shipwreck that he might arrest the shipwreck of the world. He spent a day and a night in the depth of the sea, in order that he might draw us from the depths of error. He was in fatigue in order that he might relieve the fatigued. He underwent stripes in order that he might cure those who had been beaten by the Devil. He tarried in prison in order that he might lead out into light those seated in prison and in darkness. He was oftentimes in death, in order that he might free them from both deaths. Four times did he receive forty stripes save one, in order that he might free those who did those things from the scourge of the Devil. He was beaten with rods, in order that he might bring us under the rod and staff of Christ. He was stoned, in order that he might free *us* from *the worship* of senseless stones. He was in the desert, in order that he might take us out of solitude. He was in journeys, in order that he might bring the erring to a stand, and might open the way leading to Heaven. He was in peril in cities, in order that he might point out the Heavenly City. He was in hunger and thirst, in order that he might rescue us from the more horrible hunger *hereafter*. He was in nakedness, in order that he might clothe the immodest with the garment of Christ. He was in the incursion of the crowd, in order that he might withdraw us from the encompassing pressure of the Devils. He was burned, in order that he might extinguish the fury and arts of the Devil. He was let down through a window from the wall, in order that he might send upwards from below those who were stretched upon the ground. Do we, therefore, still speak, not even knowing what things Paul suffered? Are we still mindful of money, do we still think of wife, and city, and freedom, seeing that he ten thousand times despises his own life? The martyr dies once for all; but this blessed man underwent as many dangers in one body and one soul as would have been enough to disturb a soul of adamant. And whatsoever all the saints suffered in so many bodies, all those things he bore in one. Having entered the earth as a race course, and contending against all, he stood bravely. For he knew the demons fighting against him. For which reason he appeared brilliant from the beginning; for he continued from the very starting post even to the end, like unto himself, or rather he increased the persecution, being near the prize. And the wonder is, that while he suffered and did so many things, he was able to be extremely modest. For falling into the necessity of the valuation of his own merits, he ran through them all quickly, although he might have filled a thousand books, if he had

wished to unfold each of the things which he had said, if he enumerated the Churches which he cared, if he had mentioned his imprisonments and his merits in them, if he had explained the sufferings, and the attack of other trials; but he did not wish to do that.

COURAGE OF THE APOSTLES.

From which circumstances one might especially admire the power of Christ, and their courage, that they[181] preached in those times in which the Jewish nation[182] was attacked, in which the Romans more particularly observed them as disturbers of the peace, when Cæsar ordered them all to be exterminated. And this happened as if, while the sea was everywhere agitated, and mist held the entire air, and the captains of the vessels were disputing, and while above all the passengers were quarrelling, and below the sea monsters were rising, and along with the waves destroying the passengers, and while thunderbolts were falling, and devils were present, and all within were plotting against each other, any one should order men inexperienced in sailing, and who had not even seen the sea, to sit at the helm, and to steer, and to steer and to fight, and using one little boat, its occupants being in confusion, as I said, to save and with a close fleet advancing against them with much preparation. For they were hated by the Heathens as Jews, and they were stoned by the Jews as attacking their laws, and nowhere was there a possibility for them to stand. Thus, all places were precipices, cliffs, and rocks, in the cities, country parts, and in the houses: and each one made war upon them: the general, and the ruler, and the private man, and all nations, and all peoples, and there was a disturbance such as cannot be expressed in words. For the Jewish race was odious to *the Roman Empire*, as having caused ten thousand troubles. But neither from this quarter was the preaching injured; but the city was stormed and burned, and inflicted ten thousand evils on the inhabitants; but the apostles, who were from them, introducing new laws, conquered also the Romans. O new and incredible things! The Romans took myriads of Jews, and they were not able to overcome twelve men, naked and without arms, contending with them. What word can set forth this wonder? For it is necessary that these two things be present to the teachers: both that they should be credible, and that they should be loved by those who are to learn; and, in addition, that the things said be such as may be easily received;

and, in addition to these things, that the time be free from tumult and disturbance. But then all things were the opposite. For neither did they appear faith-worthy; and they turned away from them those who had been descended from people appearing faith-worthy. They were not loved; on the contrary, they were hated, and they turned men away from those things most pleasing to them, from their customs and countries and laws. Then, again, the things commanded had much difficulty; but the things from which they were drawn away, much pleasure. Both the apostles themselves and they who hearkened to them, underwent many dangers and many deaths. And, in addition to all these things, the time supplied much difficulty, being full of wars, of tumults, of disturbances, so that if there had been none of the things previously mentioned, they might sufficiently have disturbed all things. It may well be said, "Who shall declare the power of the Lord, who shall show forth all His praises heard?" For if his own countrymen did not hear Moses, after the signs *he had shown*, on account of the clay and the brick-(*making*) wherewith they were oppressed, who induced those men who, from day to day, were beaten and killed, and suffered intolerable things; who induced them to depart from their unoccupied life, and to adopt instead this life, all dangerous and full of blood and death—and this, especially, when they who preached those things to them were foreigners, in every way sternly their enemies. For let any one introduce, not to nations, nor cities, nor peoples, but into one small house, a man detested by all who are in the house, and through him let him labour to withdraw them from all the things dear to them, from father and mother and wife and children, would he not be torn to pieces before he should open his mouth? But if, in addition to this, there be disturbance, and battle of husband and wife in the house, stoning him, would they not kill him before he should cross the threshold? But if the man should be himself contemptible, and should command burthensome things, and should order the luxurious to live frugally, and, in addition to this, he should have to manage with those much more numerous and stronger, is it not manifest that he should be completely destroyed? But, nevertheless, this which *seems* impossible in one house, Jesus Christ has accomplished in the entire world, through precipices and furnaces, and defiles and rocks, and sea and land, introducing the physicians of the world which was to be subdued. And if thou wish to learn this more clearly, I allude to the famines, the plagues, the earthquakes, and other tragic events—go to the History of Josephus having reference to those things, and thou shalt know all those things with accuracy.

On account of this He also (the Lord) said, "Be not disturbed: for it is necessary that these things be", and "he who endureth to the end, the same shall be saved", and "the gospel", He says, "shall be preached in the entire world". But when, having said that such should be the beginnings, He saw that they were loosened and dissolved with fear of the things to come, He again cheers them, saying that if ten thousand *such* things should happen, it is necessary that the Gospel should be preached throughout the world, and then will be the end.

CHARITY THE SOURCE OF ALL VIRTUES.

For after he had shown that this (charity) being absent, that there is no great benefit of faith, and of knowledge, and of prophecy, and of tongues, and of gifts, and of healings, and of martyrdom, he necessarily then describes its immense beauty, adorning its image with the parts of virtue as with certain colours, and putting together all its members with accuracy. But, beloved, do not run over the things which have been said, but examine each one of them with much care, in order that thou mayest see the treasure of the thing and the art of the painter. Consider, therefore, whence immediately he began, and what he placed first as the cause of all good things. But what is this? Longanimity (patience). This is the root of all philosophy. For which reason the wise man said, "He that is patient is of much wisdom, but he that is impatient is very foolish". And comparing it (patience) with a strong city, he said it is much safer than that. For it is an unassailable armour, and a certain unshaken tower, which easily repels all troubles. And as a spark falling into an abyss, does not indeed hurt it, but is itself easily extinguished; so whatever unexpected thing falls upon a patient soul, the same indeed is easily effaced, but does not disturb it. For patience is the most solid of all things. Even though thou wert to mention armies, even though riches, even though horses, even though fortifications, even though arms, even though anything imaginable, thou shalt mention nothing equal to patience. For he who surrounds himself with those things is often mastered by anger, overturned like a weak boy, and fills everything with tumult and tempest. But the (*patient*) man, like one seated in a port, enjoys profound tranquillity. Even though thou shouldst fling losses around him, thou hast not disturbed the rock; even though thou shouldst apply insult, thou hast not shaken the tower; even though thou shouldst inflict stripes, thou hast not struck the adamant; for he is called long-

minded (*patient*) because he has a certain long and great soul, for what is long is also called great. But this good springs from love, and has afforded much assistance to those who possess it and those who enjoy it. For, do not mention to me, desperate men, who, doing evil, and not suffering evil, become worse. Here, this has happened, not through the patience of this man, but through those who do not use it as they ought. Therefore, do not mention thou those to me, but rather the meeker men, who gain greatly thence, for, when those who do ill, do not suffer ill, those who have admired the mildness of him who suffered, derive thence the greatest description of philosophy. But he (the apostle) does not stop short here, but he subjoins its other merits, saying, "it is kind". For since there are some who use patience not for their own government, but for punishing those who provoke them, while they burst themselves, he says, that patience has not this imperfection; whence he has subjoined "it is kind". For, it is not for the sake of kindling the flame of those who are burning with anger, that *the patient* deal more mildly with them, but in order to mollify and quench it; and not only by bearing as courageously, but even by ministering and exhorting, they cure the ulcer, and dress the wound of anger. "It envieth not". For it is possible that a man may be patient and yet envious; and by this *vice* he destroys that merit. But the true patience has escaped this also.—"It dealeth not perversely". That is, it is not rash; for it renders him who loves, prudent, and grave, and steady. For, this imperfection (*rashness*) is the property of those who love shamefully, whereas, he who understands their love, is perfectly freed from all those things; for when anger is not within, all rashness and all insult is taken away; for, love being seated within the soul, like some excellent husbandman, does not allow any of those thorns to spring up. "It is not puffed up". You see many taking pride in those very merits, such as that a man is not envious, nor wicked, nor small-minded, nor rash. For those evils exist, together, not only with riches and poverty, but with things good in their nature. But love carefully purifies all things. But attend; suppose he who is patient is not altogether mild; but if he be not mild, this matter becomes a vice, and he is in danger of falling into rancour. For which reason, charity herself supplying the medicine, I mean mildness, preserves virtue pure. Again, he who is mild is often too yielding. But, he corrects this also. "For charity", he says, "dealeth not perversely; is not puffed up". He who is kindly, and he who is patient, is often proud; but she takes away this evil also.

DUTY OF THE CHRISTIAN DOCTOR.

HERE His discourse for the remaining part is concerning the teachers, to the effect, that they are to enjoy much kind service from those who are being taught. And for what reason did Christ thus lay down the law? For in the New *Testament* this law lies *before us*, "that all who preach the Gospel, should live by the Gospel", and in the Old Testament similarly, there were many revenues to the Levites from those who were governed by them. For what reason, therefore, did He order those things so? For the sake of affording us an occasion of humility and love. Since the doctorial dignity oftentimes puffs up him who has it, *the Lord*, wishing to restrain his pride, has placed him in the necessity of requiring *support* from those who are being taught; and those latter again has He led into an occasion of becoming more readily disposed for kindness, exercising them in the kindness towards their teachers, that they may be gentle to others also, a *circumstance* which wrought no small love on both parts. Since, if what I have said were not so, for what reason, seeing that He had fed the ungrateful Jews upon manna, would He have placed the apostles in the necessity of mendicants? Is it not manifest *that He did so with the view* of furnishing great advantages from this, namely, humility and charity, and *the advantage* that those who were being taught should not be ashamed of things which appeared to be shameful? For, begging appears to be *matter* of shame. But thenceforward it did not appear so, when the teachers went through it with the utmost freedom; so that the disciples gained not a little from thence, having been taught through those things to despise all glory. For this reason He says, "Let him that is instructed in the word communicate to him that instructeth him in all good things"; that is, let him exhibit towards him all liberality. For, alluding to this, he has said, "in all good things". For, let nothing, He says, be the property of the disciple, but let all things be in common, for he receives greater things than he gives, and by so much greater as the things of Heaven are greater than those of Earth. Which manifesting elsewhere, He said, "If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we reap your carnal things?" For which reason he calls communication a matter (business), showing that there is compensation. From this also love became much warmer and more firm.

If, therefore, the teacher seek what is sufficient for him, he

remains in his own dignity; for this is matter of praise, that the teacher should be so assiduous in preaching the Word, that he should want for other things, and should be in manifold poverty, and should neglect all things appertaining to support. But, should he exceed the measure, he prejudices his dignity, not by receiving, but by his immoderateness. Then, in order that the misconduct of the teacher might not render the disciple more indolent in those matters, and he might frequently pass by the teacher who was poor, on account of bad courses, going on, the apostle says: "And, in doing good, let us not fail". But here he shows the difference between this ambition and that which is concerned in worldly affairs, saying: "Be not deceived, God is not mocked; for what things a man shall sow, those also shall he reap". For he that soweth in the flesh, of the flesh also shall reap corruption; but he that soweth in the spirit, of the spirit shall reap life everlasting. For, as in the case of seeds, it is not possible that he who sows barley should reap wheat [for it is necessary that the seed and the crop should be of the same kind]: in like manner, in our works, he who, in the flesh, shall lay down luxury, drunkenness, extravagant desire, shall have the things resulting from them. But what are those? Punishment, revenge, shame, ridicule, corruption. For there is no other end of expensive tables and rich meats than corruption. For they become corrupted themselves, and they corrupt the body along with themselves. But the things of the spirit are not such, but altogether different from those. But, consider hast thou sown alms deeds? The treasures of the Heavens and everlasting glory await thee; hast thou sown modesty? Honour, and the prize, and commendations from the angels, and crowns from the master of the contest, await thee. "But, in doing good, let us not fail; for in due time we shall reap, not failing. Therefore, while we have time, let us work good to all men, but especially to those who are of the household of the faith". For, in order that no one may think that it is necessary to take care of the teachers and support them, but *that it is allowed* to neglect the others, he makes the saying applicable generally, and he opens to all the gate of so great an ambition, and he assigns to it so great an extension as to order that we shall do mercy even to Jews and Heathens, in a suitable order indeed, but still to do mercy. But what is this order? That we should exhibit more care towards the faithful; and what he does in his other epistles, the same he works at here, discoursing not merely concerning alms-giving, but concerning the doing so zealously and constantly. For the

name of seed, and his saying not to fail alludes to this. Therefore, since he has demanded a great thing, he places the reward at the door, making mention of a certain new and wonderful harvest.

THE HEAVENS SHOW FORTH THE GLORY OF GOD.

"THE Heavens shôw forth the glory of God". How, tell me, do they show it forth? They have no voice, they do not possess a mouth, there is no tongue among them: how then do they show it forth? Through their very aspect. For when thou seest their beauty, their greatness, their sublimity, their situation, and their form, which has endured so long a time, hearing as it were a voice, and being taught by the aspect, thou adorest Him who has made a body so beautiful and so wonderful. The sky is silent, but it emits a voice louder than a trumpet, teaching us through the eyes, not through the hearing. For the former sense is by nature more certain and clearer than the latter. For if, indeed, He taught through books and letters, he who understands letters would learn the things within; but he who does not know them, would go away having been nowise helped, unless another should introduce him. And he who was rich would buy the book, but the poor man would not be able to obtain possession of one. Again, he who should understand the language indicated by the letters, would know the things lying in those letters, but the Scythian and the Barbarian, and the Indian and the Egyptian, and all those destitute of that language, would go away not having learned anything. But this is not to be said concerning the Heavens. For the Scythian and Barbarian, and Indian and Egyptian, and every man walking upon the Earth, will hear that voice; for it falls upon our understanding not through the ears, but through its aspect. But the perception of things seen is uniform, and not various, as is that of the tongues. The simple man and the wise man, the poor man and the rich man, will be able to look alike upon this book, and whencesoever any one may come, looking upon the Heavens, he will derive sufficient instruction from their sight. Which the prophet himself alluding to, and showing that the creation utters a voice easily intelligible to Greeks and Barbarians, and universally to all men, thus spoke: "There are no speeches nor languages where their voices are not heard". But what he says is something of this kind: There

is no nation or tongue, he says, which is not able to understand this voice; but, so great is their sound, that it can be heard by all men.

JUSTICE COMPRISES ALL OTHER VIRTUES.

Do not think that justice is a part of virtue, but consider that it is virtue complete and universal. Thus, Job also was just, having every virtue belonging to man, not indeed abstaining from this vice while subject to this other. Thus also we say that a balance is just which is even in every direction, not, indeed, if it be able to weigh gold fairly, but lead the reverse, but which affords equality in all kinds of matters. And thus Job was just, being fair in every respect. For he did not preserve this fairness in money matters merely, but in all things, never exceeding the right measure. Nor could any one have it to say that, in money matters, indeed, he cherished fairness, but that, in his conversation with his neighbour, he exceeded moderation, as any one proud and arrogant. For he avoided this with much care. For which reason also he said: "If I have despised to abide judgment with my man-servant or my maid-servant, when they had a controversy against me, or if as I was they were not likewise". But this also is an extreme injustice, to be haughty and arrogant. For, as we say that he is avaricious who wishes to secure the property of others, and is not content with his own means; even so, we say, that a man is haughty when he asks from his neighbour more services than those due to him; when any one stations himself in all honour, and dishonours another. But this comes not from elsewhere than from injustice.

MODEL OF CHRISTIAN FRIENDSHIP.

For nothing, *absolutely* nothing, could be sweeter than this genuine love. No bitterness falls in along with it. A truly faithful friend is the medicine of life, a truly faithful friend, a strong covering. For what would not a genuine friend do? what pleasure would he not create for us? what profit? what safety? Though thou wert to name a thousand treasures, there is nothing comparable to a real friend. And first let us say how much pleasure friendship

contains. *The friend* is bright with joy, and overflows when he sees his friend. He is united to him according to an union having a certain ineffable pleasure of the soul. But if he barely think of him, he rises and is borne upwards in his mind. I speak of genuine friends, who are of one accord, of those who would choose to die for their friends, of those who love warmly. Do not imagine, when you think of those who love lightly, and are sharers of your tables, and friends with whom you have a bowing acquaintance, that you can refute this saying of mine. If any one have a friend such as I mention, he will understand my words; and, though he should see his friend every day, he is not filled *with seeing* him. He makes the same prayers for him as for himself. I know a certain man, who, when asking the holy man, on behalf of his friend, asks him to pray first for the friend and then for himself. A true friend is such that places and times are loved on his account. For, as brilliant bodies[183] shed a lustre upon the adjoining places, even so friends impart their own grace to the places where they may come. And oftentimes, when standing in those places without our friends, we have wept and groaned, remembering the days when we were there along with them.

It is not possible to set forth in language the pleasure which the presence of friends causes, but those only having experience know. One can ask a favour, and receive a favour, from a friend without suspicion. When they lay a command upon us, we are grateful to them; but when they are slow to ask, then we are sad. We have nothing which is not theirs. Often, though despising all things here, nevertheless, on their account, we do not wish to depart from hence; and they are more desirable to us than the light. And, truly, indeed, a friend is more desirable than the light itself. I speak of the genuine friend: and do not wonder; for it were better for us that the sun were extinguished, than to be deprived of friends. It were better to live in darkness, than to be without friends. And how do I say this? Because many seeing the sun are in darkness. But those who are rich in friends, could never be in tribulation. I speak of the spiritual friends who set nothing above friendship. Such was Paul, who would willingly have given his own soul, without having been asked, and would have willingly fallen into Hell. With so burning an affection is it proper to love. I wish to give you an example of friendship. Friends surpass fathers and sons, that is, friends according to Christ.

FRIENDSHIP NOT ALWAYS SINCERE.

But do not speak to me of the friends of the present day, for this perfection has gone along with the others; but reflect, that in the time of the apostles [I do not now allude to the leaders, but to those who believed in their teaching], "all", he says, "had but one heart and one soul, neither did any one say that aught of the things which *he possessed* were his own, and restitution was made to every one according as he had need". There was not then, mine, and thine. This is friendship, that each one should not regard his possessions as his own, but should look upon those of his neighbour as his, and should consider his own to belong to others; in order that thus he might tender his neighbour's soul as his own: and he in like manner may show the same disposition. And where, says Simeon, may such an one be found? Yea, it is not possible to find him, because we do not wish to do so. For if we wished to do it, it is perfectly possible. For if it were not possible, Christ would not have ordered it, nor would He have said so many things concerning charity. Friendship is a great thing, and how great, no one could learn, nor could any word explain, but only the experience of itself. For this (the absence of love) has brought heresies, this causes the heathens to be heathens. He who loves does not wish to command nor to rule, but he feels more grateful, being subject, and being commanded; he wishes to confer favours rather than to receive them, for he loves, and feels as if he had not gratified his desire. He is not so much delighted at experiencing kindness as at doing kindness. For he prefers to hold his friend bound to him, rather than he should be indebted to his friend: or, rather, he wishes to be indebted to him, and also to have him as a debtor. He wishes to confer favours upon, and not to seem to confer favours, but to be his debtor.

THE TRUE FRIEND.

I think, perhaps, that many of you are ignorant of what has been said, therefore it is necessary to say it again. He (the true friend) wishes to be foremost with his service, and not to appear to be foremost, but to repay it. Which God also did in the case of men. He was about to give His Son for us; but in order that

He might not appear to give Him, but to owe Him, He ordered Abraham to give his own son, in order that, doing a great thing, He might seem to do nothing great. For, when friendship does not exist, we upbraid *with* our services those whom we serve, and we exaggerate small things. But where friendship does exist, we both conceal the services, and we wish to show great things as small, in order that we may not seem to have our friend a debtor, but that we ourselves may appear to be debtors to him while we actually have him our debtor. I know that many do not understand what is said, but the reason is, that I discourse of a thing which now inhabits Heaven. As if, therefore, I spoke of some plant growing in India, of which no one had experience, language could not represent it, although I were to say ten thousand things; even so, now, whatever I may say, I shall speak in vain, for no one will be able to represent it. This plant has been planted in Heaven, having its branches loaded, not with pearls, but with excelling life, which is much more pleasing than those. But what kind of pleasure dost thou wish to speak of? Is it of disgraceful pleasure? Or of virtuous pleasure? Now the pleasure of friendship exceeds all other pleasures, even though thou shouldst say that of honey. For this latter becomes mawkish, but a friend never, so long as he is a friend; but his desire is rather increased, and this pleasure never admits of satiety. A friend is sweeter than the present life. Therefore, many have not wished to live any longer after the death of their friends. With a friend any one could willingly endure banishment; but without a friend no one would choose to inhabit even his own country. With a friend even poverty is bearable, but without him health and wealth are unbearable. Such an one has another self.

CONCORD.

NOTHING is the equal of concord, nor of harmony. For one is thus equivalent to many. For, if two, or ten, be unanimous, any one of them is no longer one, but each one of them becomes of the value of ten; and you will find the one in the ten, and the ten in the one. And if they have an enemy, attacking not one, but ten, he is thus taken. For he is struck, not by one, but by ten mouths. Has the one fallen into want? Still he is not in desolation; for he abounds in his greater part; that is to say

in the nine, and the needy part is protected; *that is*, the smaller part by that which abounds. Each one of them has twenty hands, and twenty eyes, and as many feet. For he sees not with his own eyes alone, but with those of others; he walks not with his own feet, but with those of others; he works not with his own hands, but with those of others. He has ten souls, for he alone is not concerned about himself, but those *other nine souls* are concerned about him. But if they be a hundred, the same thing will take place again, the *elements* of power will be increased. Hast thou seen the excellence of charity? How it causes one individual to be unconquerable and equal to many. How the one person can be in different places. How the same person *may thus be* in Persia and in Rome, and how what nature cannot do, that, charity can do. For one part of the man will be there, and one part here; or rather, he will be altogether there and altogether here. Or if he have a thousand friends, or two thousand, think to what a pitch his power will advance.[184] Dost thou see how productive *a thing* is charity? For this is a wonderful thing: to make the individual a thousand-fold. For what reason, therefore, do we not take possession of this strength, and place ourselves in safety? This is better than all power and virtue.[185] This is more than health, more than the light of *day* itself. This is an argument of joy. How long shall we confine our love to one or two? Learn the thing from its opposite.

Let there be any one, who has no friend—a thing which is of the utmost folly. For the fool will say, I have no friend. What manner of life does such an one live? For even if he be ten thousand times rich; even if he be in abundance and luxury, and possessing ten thousand good things, he is absolutely deserted and naked. But in the case of friends this is not so; but even though they be poor, they are better provided than the rich; and what a man will not venture to say for himself, those things a friend will say for him. And the things which he is unable to grant to himself, those he can grant through another, and many more things than those, and thus he will be to us a cause of all pleasure and enjoyment. For it is impossible that he should suffer hurt, being protected by so many body-guards, for neither are the body-guards of the Emperor as careful as those; for the former perform their guard through necessity, but the latter through kindness and love. But those things are much more commanding than fear. And he indeed (*the prince*) fears his guards, but the friend trusts to them more than to himself, and, through their means, fears none of those who plot against

him. Let us, therefore, procure for ourselves this commodity—the poor man, that he may have a consolation of his poverty; the rich man, in order that he may possess his riches in safety; the ruler that he may rule with safety; the subject, that he may have well-disposed rulers. This is an occasion of benevolence; this is a cause of clemency. Since even amongst beasts, those are the most savage and intractable which do not herd together; for this reason we inhabit cities, and we hold markets, that we may have intercourse with each other. This also Paul commanded, saying, "Not forsaking our assembly". For there is nothing so bad as solitude, and the absence of society and of access.

What, therefore, *are* the monks, *some one* says, and those who have taken as *their residence* the tops of the mountains? Neither are they without friends; but they have fled from the tumult of the market place, and have many of one accord with them, and strictly bound to each other. And it was in order that they might accomplish this that they withdrew. For, inasmuch as the zeal of business begets many disputes, for this reason, having left the world, they cultivate charity with much strictness. What, therefore, he says, if a man be alone, may he also have innumerable friends? I, indeed, would wish if it were possible that we were all able to live together; but, in the meantime, let friendship remain unmoved. For it is not the place that makes the friend. They, therefore, have many who admire them; but those would not admire unless they loved. And they again (the monks) pray for the entire world, which is the greatest evidence of friendship. For this reason also in the *sacred* mysteries, we embrace each other, in order that being many, we may become one. And we make common prayer for the uninitiated, imploring for the sick and for the fruits of the world, and for the land, and for the sea. Dost thou see all the strength of charity, in the prayers, in the *holy* mysteries, in the admonitions? This is the cause of all good things. If we apply, with due care, to those admonitions, which shall both administer present things well, and shall obtain the kingdom.

POVERTY AND COVETOUSNESS.

Do not consider poverty as anything dreadful, and it will not be dreadful. For this fear is not in the nature of the thing, but in the judgment of weak-souled men. On the contrary, I am

ashamed that *I have need* to say so much on behalf of poverty, merely to show that it is nothing dreadful; for, if thou act in the spirit of philosophy, it will be to thee a spring of ten thousand advantages. And if any one should offer to thee rule and political offices and wealth and luxury, and then having laid poverty before thee, should allow thee to take whichever thou shouldst wish, thou wouldst willingly snatch at poverty if thou didst know her beauty. And I know that many laugh when those things are said: but we are not disturbed. And we also ask you to bear with us, and you will quickly vote along with us. For to me it appears that poverty should be likened to some adorned and fair and comely maiden: but avarice, to a woman of bestial shape, to some Scylla or Hydra, and other such monsters framed by the mythologists. Do not produce for me those who accuse poverty, but also those who have been illustrious through her. Reared with her, Elias was carried off, through that blessed capture. With her Eliseus shone; with her, John, and all the apostles. But with the latter, Achab, Jesabel, Giezi, Judas, Nero, and Caiphas were condemned.

But, if it seem fit, let us see not only those who have been illustrious in poverty, but let us, consider the beauty itself of this maiden. For her eye is pure and transpareut, and hath nothing turbid like that of avarice, now full of anger, now filled with pleasure, now disturbed by intemperance. But the eye of poverty is not such. It is mild, calm, looking sweetly upon all, gentle, pleasant, hating no one, turning away from no one. For where there is money, there is an occasion of enmity and of innumerable wars. Again, the mouth of the latter (avarice) is full of insults, of much haughtiness, of cursing, of deceit; but, of the former, on the contrary, the mouth is sound, full of constant thanksgivings, of blessing, and of kind speeches. But if thou desire to see the arrangement of her members, she is stately, and much better than wealth. But do not be surprised if many avoid her, for the foolish avoid every other virtue likewise. But the poor man, some one says, is insulted by the rich man. Again, thou dost mention to me an encomium of poverty. For who, tell me, is the happy man? He who insults or he who is insulted. Plainly he who is insulted and bears it bravely. Therefore, avarice encourages to insult, and poverty exhorts to endure.

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ENVY.

Envy is a kind of thing than which there can be no greater evil. For the fornicator reaps a certain pleasure, and completes his sin in a short time. But the envious man punishes and wreaks revenge upon himself before he so treats him who is envied by him, and he never ceases from his sin, but is constantly in the commission of it. For, as a sow delights in mire, and as the devils delight in our hurt, so does he delight in the evils of his neighbours; and if anything sad happen to the latter, then the envious man is quiet, and takes breath, considering the misfortunes of others to be his own enjoyment, and the good fortune of others to be his own evils; and he does not consider what should happen pleasing to himself, but what should be distressing to his neighbour. Ought not those, therefore, to be stoned and beaten with clubs, like mad dogs and a hostile demon, and as the furies themselves? For, as beetles are fed upon dung, so are those men fed upon the miseries of others, being certain common foes and enemies of the human race. And there are some, indeed, who pity an irrational creature when slain; but thou, when thou seest a man well treated, dost rage, and tremble, and grow pale. And what could be worse than this madness? For this reason have fornicators and publicans been able to enter the kingdom, but the envious, who were already inside, were expelled. For "the children of the kingdom", he says, "shall be cast out". And the former, indeed, being freed from the wickedness in their hands, obtained what they never expected; but the latter lost the good things which they already had. And very justly; for this vice makes a devil out of a man, thus rendering him a savage demon. Thus took place the first murder, thus was nature set at nought, thus was the Earth polluted, and thus the Earth opening her mouth, received living, and destroyed, those with Dathan, Core, and Abiron, and all that people.

But some one may say, it is easy to blame envy, but it is necessary to say how people are to be freed from this disease. How, therefore, shall we be freed from this wickedness? If we reflect that it is not lawful for him who has committed fornication to enter into the Church, so neither is it for the envious man; and much more so for the latter than for the former. For now the evil appears to be indifferent, and therefore it is neglected. But if it become manifest that it be an evil, we shall easily remove from it. Weep, therefore, and groan, and lament, and

pray to God. Learn how thou art under this grievous sin, and depart. And, if thou be thus disposed, thou shalt quickly be freed from this sin. And who is ignorant, says some one, that envy is a wicked thing? No one is ignorant of it, but they have not the same opinion concerning fornication and adultery as concerning this passion. For who ever condemned himself as being grievously envious? When did he ask God to be merciful to him on account of this evil? No one, at any time. But if he fast, and give a little money to a poor man, though he should be infinitely envious, he thinks it nothing terrible, possessed as he is by the most accursed passion of all. Whence, therefore, did Cain become such a sinner? Whence Esau? Whence the children of Laban? Whence the sons of Jacob? Whence those with Core, Dathan, and Abiron? Whence Mary, *the sister of Aaron?* Whence the Devil himself?

HOW TO SUBDUE ENVY.

Let us trample the goads of envy. Let us assist ourselves thence, O my beloved; let us ourselves bind on our crown. The envious man makes war upon God, not upon him whom he envies. For when he sees him having grace, and grieves, and wishes to destroy the Church, he does not fight with him, but with God. For, tell me, if any one were beautifying a girl of the Prince, and by beautifying her and making her becoming, were in good estimation; but that another were to wish that she should be disgraceful; and that the former should not be able to beautify her; against whom would he plot? Would it be against the former, or against her and her father? Even so, thou who art envious and fightest with the Church, wagest war upon God. For since the utility of the Church is interwoven with the good repute of thy brother, it is necessary, that if the one perish the other perish; so that, according to this, thou dost a Satanic work, plotting against the body of Christ. Thou dost feel torture, regarding this man who has nowise injured thee, but much more regarding Christ. How has he injured thee, that thou wilt not allow his body to be decorated with beauty, that thou wilt not suffer the bride to be adorned? But consider for me how great is thy punishment. Thou dost gladden thy enemies; and him who is in good repute, and whom, by thy envy, thou dost wish to grieve, him thou dost rather gladden, and rather showest that he is

in good repute; for otherwise thou couldst not have envied him, or rather thou showest that thou art being punished.

I am ashamed that I should exhort you from such *motives;* but since we are so sick, being taught even by those motives, let us be freed from this deadly passion. Art thou in pain that thy neighbour should be in good repute? Why then, envying him, dost thou enhance his reputation? Dost thou wish to torture him? Why then dost thou show that thou art in pain? Why dost thou inflict punishment upon thyself before inflicting it upon him whom thou wishest not to be esteemed? To him, henceforward, there shall be a double pleasure, and to thee a double suffering; not only because thou showest that he is great, but because thou procurest for him another pleasure, by afflicting thyself; and again, while thou dost envy him, he rejoices at the things whereat thou grievest. See how we inflict grievous wounds upon ourselves, and do not perceive it. But he is an enemy. And wherefore is he an enemy? How has he injured you? But even if he be, we make our enemy more brilliant, and punish ourselves more. We afflict ourselves again by this circumstance, if we perceive that he knows it. Perhaps he does not rejoice; but we, thinking that he does rejoice, grieve again on account of this. Wherefore cease from envying. Why dost thou inflict wounds on thyself? Let us reflect on those things, O my beloved; the double crowns of those who do not envy; praises from men, and praises from God; and *let us reflect also* upon the evils resulting from envy. And thus we shall be able to extinguish the monster, and to be in good repute before God, and to obtain the same advantages as those who are in good repute *with men*. For, perhaps, we shall obtain them; but if we do not obtain them, it is for our good that we shall not obtain them; still, having lived for the glory of God, we shall be able to obtain the good things which have been promised to those who love Him.

DETRACTION.

Beloved, let us fly detraction. For there is no sin more grievous or more easy of commission than this. For what reason? Because it is committed more rapidly than any transgression of the law, and carries off more quickly the man who is not on the watch. For other sins require time, and expense, and delay, and accomplices; and often, in the delay of the time, they

are interrupted. I give you an instance. Suppose any one has chosen to commit murder, *or* any one has chosen to steal and defraud, he requires much trouble, and in the delay, often discharges his anger, withdraws from his wicked attempt, desists from his corrupt purpose, and does not add the deed to the intent.[186] But in speaking ill, it is not thus. Unless we be very watchful, we are easily carried away; and we have no need either of any time or delay, or expense or trouble, in order to speak ill, but we only need to choose it, and straightway our intent comes into act. For the tongue it is alone that ministers to us. Since, therefore, it is a most rapid evil, and a sin that easily encompasses us, and the punishment and vengeance is severe, and the gain nothing,—be it small or great, let us avoid this disease with great strictness, and let us hide the faults of others and not parade them. Let us exhort sinners, as the Lord says: "If thy brother shall offend against thee, go and rebuke him, between him and thee alone", so that the privacy of the rebuke will render the cure easier.

Let us not bite nor eat the wounds of others; let us not imitate flies; but let us rival bees. Flies sit upon wounds and bite them, but bees fly upon the flowers. For this reason, the latter compact[187] honeycombs, the former bring disease to the body on which they alight. And these, indeed, are detestable, but those are desirable; and let us, therefore, equip our souls to fly over the meadows of the virtue of the saints, and let us constantly excite the sweet odour arising from the merits with them, but let us not bite the wounds of our neighbour. But if we see any doing this, let us stop their mouths, opposing to them the fear of punishment, and reminding them of their kindred with their brethren. But if they should yield to none of those things, let us call them flies, in order that, at least, the disgrace of this rebuke may drive them from their wicked intention, in order that being released from this evil in occupation, they may employ all their leisure in examining their own sins. For thus, those who have fallen will be raised up by the recollection of their sins, which have not been paraded before them; and those who continually pass in review their own faults, will easily lay them aside, becoming slower to the commission of the remaining *sins* by the recollection of their past sins. And those who are perpetually contemplating the virtue of the saints, will derive *from it* the greatest *zeal* for the imitation of the same. And through all those, the entire body of the Church being happily ordered for us, we shall be able with this fulness to enter into the kingdom of Heaven.

THE TRUE GLORY OF THE CHRISTIAN.

HAVING learned the true nature of things, let us pass shadows by, and take hold of the truth. For, even though a shadow seem larger than the body, still it is only a shadow. In no other respect assuredly is it greater, but only appears so at the time when we are farthest from the ray of the sun. Therefore, when at high noon, the ray stands directly over our heads, the shadow is contracted on all sides, and becomes shorter, which same thing is to be seen in human affairs. For as long as one places himself at a greater distance from virtue, the affairs of the present life seem great; but when he places himself in the very most brilliant light of the holy Scriptures, then he sees the vileness, and shortness, and nothingness of all mortal things; and he learns clearly that all those things are nothing better than river-waters, appearing and passing off at the same moment. For this reason, the prophet reasoning, and censuring the pusillanimous and wretched men, dragged along the ground and straining after the appearance of riches, and fearing and trembling at those who abound with such things, said: "For be not afraid, when a man shall be made rich, and when the glory of his house shall be increased; for when he shall die, he shall not take all those things away".

Thou seest the accuracy of the saying, and the perfectly clear distinction *drawn*. For he did not say, "when his glory shall be increased", but "the glory of his house"; showing that the glory of man was one thing, and the glory of his house another thing. What, therefore, is the glory of the man, and what the glory of the house? For it is necessary to know those things clearly, in order that we may not embrace dreams instead of truth. The glories of a house, therefore, are porches, *covered* walks, a golden roof, a floor beautified with pavement, meadows, gardens, troops of slaves, sumptuous furniture, of which things nothing belongs to the man. The glory of man is an upright faith, zeal for God, clemency, love, gentleness, application in prayer, the wisdom of alms deeds, chastity, modesty, and all the other members of virtue. And in order that thou mayest learn that those things are in this way, he who possesses the former things does not reap any glory from them, nor would any one be called beautiful because he has a beautiful house, or a garden, or a meadow, or a multitude of slaves, or magnificence of garments. For all the wonder stops short at the possession, and does not pass over to him who has it. For we wonder at the house, and the garden, and the meadow, and the beauty of the garments, all which

things are the recommendation of the art of those who have wrought them, and not of the merit of those who have obtained possession of them, but on the contrary they are oftentimes a token of his wickedness.

VIRTUE ALONE CONFERS IMMORTAL GLORY.

NOTHING makes a name immortal so much as the nature of virtue. The martyrs prove this, the relics of the apostles prove it, the recollection of those who have walked in virtue proves it. Many kings have founded cities and constructed ports, and having given their names to them, have departed: but they derived no advantage from it; they are passed over in silence and consigned to oblivion. But, the fisherman Peter, having done none of those things, since, however, he followed virtue, and took possession of the imperial city, shines beyond the sun, even after his death. But what thou dost is ridiculous and full of shame. For not only will these monuments not render thee splendid, but they will make thee ridiculous and will open the mouths of all. For thy buildings stand everywhere like pillars and trophies of thy covetousness, *of thy* covetousness, which might otherwise have been consigned to oblivion by time. "And man, when he was in honour, did not understand; he is compared to senseless beasts, and is become like to them". Here, the prophet thenceforward appears to me to complain that the rational animal, who has taken the supremacy upon Earth, has stooped himself to the vileness of irrational creatures, labouring in vain, planning things opposed to his salvation, pursuing vain glory, pursuing avarice, labouring at useless things. For virtue is the honour of man, and so likewise is the reasoning wisely about future things, and procuring all things for that *future* life, and the neglect of present things. For the life of irrational animals is shut up within the limits of the present life, but ours points to a better life, and one which has no end. But those who know nothing about the things to come are worse than the irrational animals.

MEEKNESS AND VIOLENCE.

HE who is meek is sweet to himself and helpful to others; but the man given to anger is displeasing to himself and hurtful to

others. For there is nothing more disagreeable than an angry man, nothing more burthensome, nothing more troublesome, nothing more disgraceful; just as for the same reason there is nothing sweeter than a man who knows not how to be angry. It were better to meet with a wild beast, than to meet with such a man *as the man given to anger*. For, the former, once he has been tamed, keeps to his own law; but how often soever thou mayest have pacified the latter, he rages again, having once brought himself into such a habit. For as a fair and joyous day, and a winter full of much sorrow, are different things from each other, thus are the soul of the man given to anger, and of the meek man. But let us not as yet consider the hurtful things which happen *therefrom* to others, but those which happen to ourselves (although neither is this a small hurt to give evil to another): however, for the present let us consider this. What executioner will be able so to tear the sides—what heated spits so transfix the body—what madness would so drive one out of a mind according to nature, as anger and fury? I have known many who have fallen into diseases from anger. These are the most severe of all fevers.

But if they so hurt the body, consider *how much* they hurt the soul. For thou must not reason that thou dost not see: but consider, if that which conceives the evil is so hurt, how great hurt will not the offspring conceive.[188] Many have lost their eyes, many have fallen into grievous sickness. He who bears bravely will easily endure all things. Nevertheless, although it commands such burthensome things, and proposes Hell as our reward, and is a Devil and the enemy of our salvation, still we obey it rather than Christ, who is our Saviour and Benefactor, and says things which are sweeter and more helpful and more useful, and greatly assist us and our companions. Nothing is worse than anger, my beloved; nothing worse than unseasonable passion. It will not suffer much delay; it is an acute disease. Oftentimes a man has uttered a word through passion, for the reparation of which he requires a whole lifetime; and such another man has done a thing which subverted his entire life. For this is the grave *feature* in it, that in a short time, and with one act, and with one word, it is wont to expel us from eternal blessings, and frustrates a thousand labours. For which reason I exhort you to do all things, so as to bridle in this beast.

REMORSE OF CONSCIENCE.

Dost thou see, O beloved, how God has framed for us a soul, having power over herself, and that as in case we are indolent, we are supplanted; so, if we wish to be watchful, we behold what is necessary. For, who, tell me, drove Lamech to so great a confession? No one else than his conscience, and that incorrupt judge. For when, inclining towards indolence, he put his evil attempt into execution, immediately his conscience arose, crying out, and showing to him the greatness of his sins, and to what punishment he had made himself subject. For such a thing is sin, that before it is produced and comes to deeds, it darkens the reason and deceives the mind; but when it has been completed, it places before us its manifest absurdity; and that short and absurd pleasure implants in us continual grief, and takes away the boldness of our conscience, and surrounding with confusion him who has been taken *by it*. For the loving Master has appointed such an accuser for us, so that he may never be quiet, but that incessantly meeting the *offender*, he may cry out against him, and demand punishment for his offences. And this, any one may see clearly from his own affairs. For the fornicator, the adulterer, or he who has done any other such thing, even though he should be able to escape *the notice of all*, does not live in quietness; but having this vehement accuser, he fears suspicions, he trembles at shadows, at those who know, and those who do not know, having a perpetual winter in his soul, and alternate waves. And neither is his sleep sweet for such a man, but it is full of fear and terror, nor has food any pleasure for him, nor will the conversation of his friends be able to bring over such an one, or to free him from the urgent struggle. But, carrying with him as it were an executioner, he thus walks about after that absurd act, sustaining, though no one be aware of it, intolerable punishments, being at once his own judge and accuser.

SAINT BASIL THE GREAT.

ON THE USE OF PAGAN AUTHORS.

There are many things, O children, encouraging me to give you those counsels which I judge to be best, and which I be-

lieved would be useful to you receiving them. For the fact of my having attained the age which I have reached, and having been exercised by many affairs, and also of my having fairly partaken of the change in both *good and evil fortune*, which teaches all things, has made me experienced in human things, so that I am enabled to show, as it were, the safest way to those who have just chosen for themselves a course of life. Moreover, I happen by our natural relationship *to come* next after your parents, so that neither should I cherish less affection for you than that of your fathers; but I think that you, unless I have made some mistake about your feeling, do not long after your parents when you look towards me. If, therefore, you willingly receive the things said to you, you will be in the second rank of those praised by Hesiod; but if not, I, indeed, would say nothing harsh; but let yourselves just remember *the verses* in which he says, that he is the best man who by himself sees the things that are necessary; and that he is a good man who follows the things which he has received from others; but that he who is fit for neither, is useless for all things. And do not wonder if for you who frequently visit your teachers, and associate with the eloquent of the ancients through the writings which they have left, I say, that from myself I have discovered something more advantageous. I come, therefore, to give you this same advice, that it is not right that, entrusting, once for all, the rudder of your intellect, as it were of some boat, to those men, you should follow by whatever course they should lead, but that, accepting as much of them as is useful, you should know what it is right also to neglect.

CHAPTER II.

We, my children, consider this human life to be nothing, to be absolutely nothing; nor do we think or call anything at all good which affords advantage to us for this life only. Wherefore we do not consider nobility of ancestors, nor strength of body, nor beauty, nor greatness, nor honour from all men, nor empire itself, nor anything that any one might mention, great, nor even worthy of prayer, nor do we regard those who have them, but we proceed higher with our hopes, and do all things as preparation for the other life. The things, therefore, which are profitable to us for the other life, those, I say, we ought to love and pursue with all our strength; but that

we should neglect, as worth nothing, those which do not reach it. But what this life is, and where, and how we are to love it, is a greater height than that I should reach it by this present effort. Nevertheless, saying this much, I have, perhaps, sufficiently shown to you, that if any one were to collect in his discourse, and heap into one, all the happiness that has been, since men have existed, he will find that it is not to be compared with the least portion of those blessings (of the other life), but that all of the advantages here below, are farther removed from the dignity of the least among those *in the future* life, than by how much a shadow and a dream are left behind by the realities. But rather, in order that I may use a more familiar example, by so much as the soul is more precious than the body, so great is the difference between both lives. But to this life, indeed, the sacred writings lead, instructing us through secret *meanings;* but so long as by reason of your age it is not possible for you to understand the depth of their meaning, let us exercise ourselves beforehand by the eye of the soul in other books which are not altogether different *from the Sacred Scriptures*, as in certain shadows and mirrors, imitating those who practise exercises in military tactics; who, when they have acquired experience in the movement of the hands and in leaping, derive gain in actual conflict from the sham-battle. And certainly we ought to think, that the greatest contest of all is proposed for us, unto the preparation for which we must do and labour all in our power, and we must converse with poets and historians and rhetoricians, and with all men, from whom may be about to come some help for the care of our souls. As dyers, therefore, having prepared by certain treatments beforehand whatever material is to receive the dye,[189] thus bring in the full colour, whether it be purple or any other; in the same way, if the indelible glory of virtue is to remain with us, once having initiated ourselves in the sciences external to those (the sacred sciences), will learn from them the sacred and secret teachings, and as those accustomed to see the sun in the water, we shall apply our eyes to the light itself.

CHAPTER III.

If, therefore, the letters—*sacred and profane*—have any relationship to each other, the knowledge of them would be to the purpose for us: but if not, it would be no small advantage for

the confirmation of the better learning, that, putting them opposite to each other, we should learn their difference. To what, therefore, having compared each *of the courses* of instruction, can you find an image *to illustrate their difference?* Assuredly, as it is the proper virtue of a plant to abound with seasonable fruit, but, nevertheless, the leaves stirred upon its branches contribute a certain ornament; even so, truth is primarily the fruit of the soul; but it is not ungraceful that it should be clothed with the wisdom from without, as with certain leaves, affording a shade to the fruit, and not an unpleasing aspect. Wherefore Moses, he the very illustrious, whose name is greatest for wisdom amongst all men, having been exercised in the learning of the Egyptians, is said to have thus come to the contemplation of Him who is. But similarly with him, and even in later times, it is said that the wise Daniel, having learned the wisdom of the Chaldeans in Babylon, then applied to the Divine teachings.

CHAPTER IV.

But enough has been said to show that those external studies are not a useless thing. But how you are to partake of them is in turn to be said. In the first place, it is fit that you should not apply your minds to all things alike, *which are said* by the poets (in order to begin with those), since some are of every character in their writings; but when they relate to you the deeds or words of good men, it is right to love them, and imitate them, and try to resemble them as much as possible; but when they come to wicked men by their description, it is right that you should fly those things, having stopped your ears not less than those say that Ulysses avoided the songs of the Sirens. For familiarity with corrupt words is a kind of way to the acts themselves. For which reason you must guard your souls with the utmost watchfulness, lest through the pleasure of the words we may unknowingly take any of the vicious *portions*, as those who receive poisons with honey. We, therefore, shall not praise the poets when they describe men who are revilers and scoffers, or those in love, or drunkards, nor when they measure glory by a well-filled table and dissolute songs. But, least of all, let us attend to them speaking concerning the gods, and especially when they speak of them as of many, and those not agreeing among themselves. For amongst them brother raises sedi-

tion against brother, and father against children, and those again have an implacable war against their parents. But the adulteries of the gods, and their amours, and their embraces in public, and those especially of the head and prince of all, Jupiter, such as any one would blush to mention concerning brute animals, those we shall leave to the people upon the stage.

But I have the very same things to say concerning the historians, and especially when they write for the sake of leading the minds of their students with them. And let us not imitate the rhetoricians with regard to lying. For neither in judicial proceedings, nor in other matters, is falsehood proper for us who have made choice of the straight and true path of life, *of us* to whom it has been commanded by the law not to litigate. But let us rather receive those writings of theirs by which they have praised virtue and condemned vice. For even as for all other creatures the enjoyment of flowers is that of their scent or their colour, but it is for the bees to take honey also out of them; thus also in this department of letters, it is for us, not merely preserving the sweetness or pleasantness of those letters, to lay up for use in our souls some profit from them. We must, therefore, partake of those writings completely after the example of the bees. For neither do they go to all flowers alike, nor do they endeavour to take away the whole substance from those flowers over which they fly, but having taken from them as much as is suitable for their work, bid good bye to the remainder. And we, indeed, if we be wise, having taken as much as is proper to us and akin to truth, will pass over what is left. And as in culling the flowers of the rose bush, we avoid the thorns, in like manner, having gathered of those writings whatever is useful, let us guard against what is hurtful. It were fit, therefore, that from the beginning we should consider each of those studies, and fit it to its end, according to the Doric proverb, keeping the stone to the plumb line.

CHAPTER V.

And since it is through virtue that we must reach our life, and since many things tending towards this are repeated by the poets, and many by the historians, and much more still by the philosophers, to such of those writings *as bear that* tendency, must we apply our minds in particular. For it is no small help

that a certain familiarity and fellowship with virtue should be generated in the minds of the young, since studies of such matters are by nature unchangeable, being deeply engraven in their minds on account of their tenderness. What else are we to suppose that Hesiod had in view when he made those verses which all sing, *than this?* Was it not that he should encourage the young to virtue? *He says* that at first the way leading to virtue is rough and difficult of access, and full of frequent sweat and labour, and arduous. For which reason it is not the lot of every one, either to approach it on account of its steepness, or when he has approached it, easily to reach the summit. But having once gained the top, it is given him to see how smooth and fair it is, and how easy and unobstructed, and more pleasant than that of the path which leads to vice, which the same poet has said might at once be taken on account of its being adjoining. For he appears to me to have gone through those things doing nothing else than encouraging us to virtue, and inviting us all to be good, and, that we should not turn away from our object, having been made too soft for labours. And, indeed, if any other poet has sung any things similar to those leading to virtue, let us receive those writings as leading to the same object with us.[190]

But, as I have heard from a man who was skilful in discovering the meaning of the poet, his entire poem is for Homer in praise of virtue, and with him everything that is not superfluous conduces to this end, but not least of all in those verses, in which he has represented the general of the Cephalonians, after he had been saved naked from shipwreck—first, indeed, when he was seen alone, to have inspired the princess with a feeling of modesty: so far was he from incurring shame when he was seen naked: for *the poet* represented him as clothed with virtue instead of with a garment: and next, to have been considered worthy of such honour by the Phæacians that having discarded the luxury in which they were living, they all looked up to him and emulated him, and that no one of the Phæacians at that time should have preferred anything than to be Ulysses, and this even though *Ulysses* was a man just saved from shipwreck. For in those things the interpreter of the meaning of the poet affirms that Homer crying out, only says, O men, you must attend to virtue, which swims out together with him who has been shipwrecked, and will exhibit him, naked as he is upon the strand, as more worthy of honour than the fortunate Phæacians. For so it is. For other possessions are not more peculiarly the property of those who

possess them than of any other people who may chance to come, being tossed hither and thither as in the game of dice; but virtue alone of all possessions is a thing that cannot be taken away, and remains with a man living and dead. Whence also Solon appears to me to say those things to the rich: "But we will not barter our virtue with those for riches; since the one (virtue) is always steadfast, but different men have human riches at different times". But nearly similar to those are the verses of Theognis, in which he says that God (whatever God he alludes to) weighs down the balance for men at different times in different directions: that at one time they are rich, but at another time have nothing.

And, indeed, the Chian sophist, somewhere in his writings, has reasoned matters germain to these, regarding virtue and vice. To whom, also, are we to apply our understanding, for the man is by no means contemptible. But his expression is somewhat to this effect, as far as I recollect the meaning of the man, for I do not know the words, unless that he spoke simply thus, without metre. That while Hercules was very young, and of about the age that you are now, while he was deliberating which of the two ways he should turn, whether that which leads through labours to virtue, or the easy way, two women came forward; but that those were virtue and vice, and that they, though silent, manifested by their dress the difference between them. For, that one was arrayed for beauty by the cosmetic art, and overflowed with luxury, and brought the entire swarm of pleasure hanging from her; and that she, therefore, showed those things, and promising more, endeavoured to draw Hercules to herself. But that the other was thin, and squalid, and looked fixedly, and said such and such things of another kind, and promised nothing indolent, nothing sweet, but infinite sweat and labours, and dangers, over all land and sea. But that the reward of those things was to become a god, as his expression is, whom Hercules ended by going along with.

CHAPTER VI.

And almost all of whom there is any mention, small or great, in connection with philosophy, have entered into the praise of virtue in their writings. Whom we are to obey and to try to illustrate their writings in our lives. For he who confirms in work that

philosophy which amongst others extends only as far as words, "is wise, the others flutter as shadows". And it appears to me that this is almost similar *to the case*, as if, a picture representing a man of astonishing beauty, the man himself should be in fact such as the painter represented him on the[191] tablets. Since, indeed, to praise virtue publicly in brilliant terms, and to spin out long speeches about it, but in private to prefer pleasure to moderation, and the possession of more *than others have*, to justice, is like, I should say, to those performing actors upon the stage, who oftentimes come forth as kings and dynasts, being neither kings nor dynasts, nor haply free men at all. Thus, a musician would not willingly endure that his lyre should be discordant, and the leader of a choir would not wish to have a choir which should not be quite in accord. Each one therefore will disagree with himself, and will not have a life conformable with his words, but he will say, according to Euripides: My tongue, indeed, has sworn, but my mind is unsworn: and he will prefer the appearing good to the being so. But this is the utmost limit of injustice, if any credit is to be given to Plato, to appear to be just while one is not so.

CHAPTER VII.

Let us thus, therefore, receive those of the writings of the ancients which have arguments of honourable subjects; and since the strenuous acts of the ancient men are preserved for us either by the sequence of memory, or kept by the writing of poets or historians, let us not be destitute of help from hence either. As when a certain one of the men of the market place was reviling Pericles, but the latter did not attend to him, and they both continued the entire day, the one, indeed, drenching the other with revilings, and the other not minding him, then evening and darkness coming on, Pericles, accompanied home with a light, him hardly even then departing, in order that his exercise in philosophy should not be wasted. Again, a certain man being exasperated against Euclid of Megara, threatened *him with* death, and swore; but the latter swore in his turn most solemnly, that he would appease him, and would cause him to cease from being badly disposed towards him. Worth how much would it not be that some of those things should enter the memory of a man already held by anger? For we must not put faith in the

tragedy which simply says, "Anger arms the hand against an enemy"; but the best course is not to be excited to anger at all. But if this be not easy, *it were fit* that, throwing reason like a bridle over it, we should not allow it to be carried further on.

But let us bring back our discourse again to the examples of strenuous deeds. A certain man struck Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, beating him unsparingly upon the very face. But the latter did not resist, but suffered the drunken man to be glutted with his anger, so that his own face already swelled, and was bruised by the blows. But as soon as he ceased *from* striking, Socrates is said to have done nothing else, but to have written upon his forehead as the artist upon a statue: "So and so has done it", and to this extent avenged himself. These things leading almost in the same direction with our precepts; I say that it is well worth while to imitate men of this kind. For this conduct of Socrates is germain to that command of the Saviour, that to the man striking us upon one cheek, so far from returning the blow, it were right to present the other: but the conduct of Pericles, or of Euclid, in awaiting those who were pursuing them, and so mildly enduring their anger, resembles the command to wish well to our enemies, and not to curse them. But the conduct of Clinias, one of the disciples of Pythagoras, it is difficult to believe should agree of its own mere motion with our writings, *and should not be the conduct* of one who had imitated them of purpose. But what was it that he did? It was in his power by an oath to escape a fine of three talents, but he paid rather than then swear, and this, though he was about to swear truly, having heard, it appears to me, the command forbidding us to swear.

CHAPTER VIII.

But what I said from the beginning (for, let me return to the same thing), all things are not to be received by us alike, but as many as are useful. For it is a shameful thing that we should push away hurtful meats, and that we should have no regard of the studies which nourish our souls, but that, sweeping along after the manner of a torrent, everything at random, we should fling it out ourselves. Although what meaning has it, that the pilot, indeed, should not rashly commit himself to the winds, but should direct his boat to the ports; and that an archer should aim at the mark; and that a smith or worker in wood should follow

the end according to his art, but that we should be left behind by artists of this sort in being able to put together our own works, for it is not possible that there should be some object of the labour of workmen, but that there should be no object of the life of man, looking towards which every one who is not to be likened to irrational animals should say and do everything; or that we should be so completely after the manner of unballasted ships, as that, no one sitting at the rudder of our souls, we be vainly carried round, up and down through life.

But, as in gymnastic contests, or, if thou wishest, in those of music, the exercises are of those contests of which are the crowns, and no one practising wrestling, or the pancratium, then practises at playing the harp or playing the flute. Certainly, not Polydamas; but he before the contest in the Olympian games stopped running chariots, and through those exercises invigorated his strength. And Milo, indeed, could not be pushed from the shield smeared with oil; but, when pushed against, he resisted not less than statues bound to *their pedestals* with lead. And altogether, their exercises were for them preparations for the contests. But if, having left the dust and the gymnasium, they had attended to the musical measures of Marsyas, or of Olympus the Phrygians, would they have readily obtained crowns and glory, or could they have escaped, being ridiculous in body?[192] But neither did Timotheus giving up song spend his time in the Palæstra. For it would not have been in his power so to excel all in music, as to be one who had such skill in the art as that he excited the mind through his sustained and austere harmony, and again soothed and mollified it by his gentle harmony, when he should wish. By this he is said, when playing the Phrygian strain to Alexander, to have aroused him to arms while at supper, and again to have brought him back to his companions by making the harmony mild. Such strength does practice give in music and in gymnastic contests for the attainment of the end.

But, since I have been reminded of crowns and athletes, they, indeed, having undergone countless sufferings upon sufferings, and having increased their strength from all directions, sweating much in gymnastic labours, and having received many strokes in the training-school, and having taken not the most agreeable food, but that which was allowed them by the trainers, and, that I may not be too long in detailing things, so living as that their entire life before the contest is *one continued* exercise for the contest, then they strip for the stadium, and labour, and undergo all

things, in order that they may receive a crown of wild olive, or parsley, or some other of those things, and may be proclaimed conquerors by the heralds. But to us, to whom are proposed rewards of *our course* of life, so wonderful in number and in greatness, that it is impossible they should be reconciled in speech, to us who are asleep in both our ears, and living with much license, will it be given that we may take those prizes with one hand? For, *in this case*, indolence of life would be worth much, and Sardanapalus would carry off the first prizes of all, for blessedness, and Margites, also, if thou wilt, whom Homer described to be neither a plougher, nor a digger, nor any of those things that are fit for life, if, indeed, those be the verses of Homer. But I think that the saying of Pittacus rather is true, who has affirmed that it is a difficult thing to be good. For it will scarce be given to us, after having in truth gone through many labours, to attain those blessings, of which, as we have said, there is no example in human affairs. Therefore, we must not be indolent, nor barter our great hopes for ease during a short period, unless we are to endure reproaches, and subject ourselves to punishment, not here, indeed, from men (although to any one having good sense this would not be a small consideration), but in the tribunals under the Earth, or wherever they may happen to be. So that to him who errs from the right way unintentionally, there might perhaps be some indulgence from God; but to him who will advisedly have chosen the worse course, there will be no begging off from undergoing a far greater punishment.

CHAPTER IX.

What then shall we do? some one may say. What else than to have care of our soul, being totally unoccupied with any other things? Wherefore, not only is there not every necessity that we must serve the body, but the best attentions are to be given to the soul, having released her by philosophy from the fellowship which she has with the passions of the body, and at the same time rendering the body stronger than its passions, ministering to the belly the things necessary, not the things sweetest, like those who seeking out certain men skilled in laying tables, and cooks, and scrutinising all earth and sea *for delicacies*, bearing tribute as it were to a certain hard master, miserable for their want of leisure, suffering more unendurably than those being punished

in Hell, carding wool into the fire, carrying water in a sieve, and pouring it into a pierced vessel, having no other end of our labours. But to take trouble about shaving and dresses beyond what is necessary, is the part either of the unfortunate or of the unjust, according to that saying of Diogenes. So that I say, that persons of this description should be as much ashamed to be and to be called a fop as to live in prostitution, or to plot against the marriage *vows* of others. For what is the difference to any one of sense whether he be clad in a fine texture, or wear a garment of the coarser materials, provided it want nothing for being a protection against cold and heat? But, in the same way, it is right that we should not furnish ourselves with other matters beyond what is necessary, nor take greater care of the body than is for the advantage of the soul. For it is no less reproach to a man who is really worthy of this designation to be a fop and a lover of his person, than to be disgracefully subject to any other vice. For, the applying all one's zeal so as that he may have his body most adorned, is the part of one who does not know himself, and does not understand the wise admonition by which we are told that the man is not merely that which is seen, but that there is need of some wisdom over and above, through which each of us, whoever he may be, will know himself. But this is more difficult to those who are not clean of soul than it would be to one with sore eyes to look at the sun. But the purification of the soul, in order that I may speak compendiously and sufficiently for you, is to spurn the pleasures coming to us through the senses, not to feast our eyes upon the absurd shows of the jugglers, nor upon the gaze of bodies which drive in the goad of pleasure, nor to pour in through our ears the melody which corrupts the soul. For the passions, which are the progeny of illiberality and baseness, are wont to come from this species of music.

But we must cultivate that other music which is better, and leads to a better result, making use of which David, the poet of the sacred songs, restored the king, as they say, from his madness. It is said, also, that Pythagoras meeting with drunken revellers, commanded the flute-player who was leader of the revel, that, having changed the harmony, he should play for them the Doric measure; but that they so came to their reason by the melody, that, flinging their wreaths upon the ground, they returned ashamed. But others, at the sound of the pipe, rage like Corybantes and Bacchanalians. So great is the difference between being filled with wholesome or with corrupt melody, so

that you should participate in the music which prevails now, less than in any other of the disgraceful pursuits.

But I am ashamed to dissuade from mingling with the air all kinds of perfumes, which bring pleasure to the smell, or from daubing yourselves with unguents. But what should any one say concerning its not being right to hunt after the pleasures in the touch and in the taste, unless that they compel those who devote themselves to this pursuit, to live like beasts bowed downwards to the belly and to the parts beneath?

But, in one word, the whole body is to be neglected by him who does not intend to be buried in his pleasures as in mire, or so much indulgence is to be given to it by him as ought to be given by those who apply its service by philosophy, as Plato says, speaking things similar to those spoken by Paul, who admonishes that we ought to have no provision for the flesh unto matter of concupiscence.

For those who are careful of the body, so that it may be in the best condition, but neglect the soul which is in that body as of no value, how do they differ from those who work at *the manufacture of* instruments, but neglect the art which operates through those instruments? On the contrary, it were right to chastise it, and restrain its attacks like those of a wild beast, and that, striking with reason as with a whip the disturbances which come to the soul from it (the body), we should subdue them, and not having loosened every rein, overlook the mind, so as that it be carried away like a charioteer swept away by his unrestrained horses, borne along by their fury; and that we should be mindful of Pythagoras, who, when he learned that one of his frequenters was making himself very fleshy by exercise and food, "Will not this man", he says, "cease from making for himself a more grievous prison?" For which reason they say that Plato, foreseeing the injury *that would result from extreme health* of the body, chose expressly for his resort the Academy, an unhealthy place of Attica, in order that he might cut off excessive health of body, as the superfluous fruitfulness of the vine. But I have heard from physicians that extreme health is a precarious condition. Since, therefore, this excessive care of the body is unprofitable to the body itself, and obstructive to the soul, it is manifest madness to subject oneself to, and to minister to it.

But if we were to exercise ourselves in neglecting this, we should scarcely admire any other human thing. For what need shall we have of riches, despising the pleasures which come to us through the body? I indeed do not see, unless like the dragons

in the fables, it should bring us some pleasure to watch over buried treasures. But the man who has been taught to live in freedom from those would be very far from ever chosing anything low or base in work or word. For whatever is over and above one's need, although it be the Syrian sand or the work of the gold-bearing ants, this will he despise so much the more as he has less need of it; but he will limit his need, not by pleasures, but by the necessities of nature. For those who go beyond the limits of necessaries, like those who are carried down declivities, having nothing firm upon which to prop themselves, nowhere cease in their forward course, but in proportion as they accumulate more, they require the same or still more for the satisfaction of their cupidity, according to that passage of Solon, the son of Execestides, who says, "But there is no certain term of riches for men". But we must also make use of Theognis, his teacher, who says regarding these matters, "I neither love nor pray to be rich, but let it be allowed me to live upon a little, not having any evil". But I admire the contempt of Diogenes for all Earthly things together, who indeed declared himself to be richer than the great king, as he required fewer things than the latter for his livelihood. But to us, will nothing be sufficient unless we have the talents of Pythias the Mysian, and so many plethra of land, and swarms of cattle more than can be numbered? But I think it were right not to desire wealth when absent from us, and that, it being present, we should not be elated at possessing it rather than spending it well. For the saying of Socrates is appropriate, who, when a rich man was proud of his riches, said "that he would not admire him before he had experience that he knew how to use them". If Phidias and Polyclitus were proud of the gold and of the ivory out of which they made, the one his Jupiter for the Eleans, the other his Juno for the Argives, they would both have been ridiculous, pluming themselves upon the wealth of others, and discarding their art, by which the gold also was rendered more pleasing and more precious. But we, when we think that human virtue is not sufficient for its own adornment, do we imagine that we do things deserving of less shame?

But shall we neglect riches, and despise the pleasures coming through the senses, and yet pursue flattery and adulation, and imitate the cunning and varied artifice of the fox of Archilochus? But there is nothing more to be avoided by the wise man than living for glory, and regarding the things that may appear praiseworthy to the multitude, and not to make right reason the leader of our

life, so that even if it should be necessary to undergo ignominy and danger for the sake of virtue, we should not choose to reverse any of the things rightly decided. Shall we say that man so disposed is in any way different from the Egyptian sophist, who became a tree, and a wild beast when he wished, and fire, and water, and all things? Since he now, indeed, praises justice amongst all who honour it, but by and by he will utter words the opposite to those, when he perceives that injustice is in favour, which is the way of flatterers. And as they say that the Polypous changes his colour for *that of* the Earth which lies near him, so he changes his opinion according to the sentiments of those who may be with him.

CHAPTER X.

But though we shall learn those things more clearly in our own (*sacred*) writings, we shall trace from the teachings without, as much of a certain sketch of virtue as will answer for the present. For, to those who carefully accumulate usefulness from all things, many additions are wont to come from all sides as to great rivers. For, it was right for the poet to have thought, that the adding of little to little conduced not more to the addition of money than to any science whatever. Wherefore, Bias, when his son was going to Egypt, and asking him what he could do most grateful to his father, said: If you will procure a travelling provision for old age; calling virtue a travelling provision, circumscribing it within narrow boundaries, inasmuch as he limited the usefulness *derivable* from it to the human life. But although any one should mention the old age of Tithonus, or of Arganthonius, or even that of Methusalem, the longest liver amongst us, who is said to have lived a thousand years wanting thirty, although he should measure up the entire time since men were *created*, I would laugh at it as at the imagination of children, when I look to that long age, which knows no old age, of which it is impossible to conceive an end in your imagination, or to suppose an end to the immortal soul. For obtaining which I would exhort you to procure travelling provision, moving every stone, according to the proverb, whence any assistance might come to you. Nor let us become indolent because those things are difficult and requiring labour; but I *would exhort you*, that mindful of him who admonishes us, that each one should choose the best life, and expect

that it would grow pleasing from habit, you should set your hands to the best *practices*. For it is shameful, that letting slip the present occasion, we should recall it when gone, when there will be no more opportunity for us grieving.

Of the things, indeed, of which I consider best, I have said some to you now, but the others I shall counsel you throughout your entire lives. But see that you seem not like to the one disease which is incurable out of three, and do not show a disease of the mind like that of suffering bodies. For they who are labouring under small ailments, go themselves to the physicians; but they who have been taken by more serious disorders, call to them those who are to heal them; but they who have fallen into some completely incurable disease of black bile, do not even admit those who come to them. Which may you not suffer now, *by* avoiding those who are right in their reasonings.

ST. GREGORY NAZIANZEN.

PANEGYRIC OF THE MACHABEES.

But what are the Machabees? For the present festival is in honour of those *saints*, who are not honoured by many, because their contest was not after Christ, but who are worthy of being honoured by all, because their valour was for the laws of their country: and, those who underwent martyrdom before the passion of Christ, what would they not have done had they been persecuted after Christ, and were to imitate His death for us? For, those who were so great in virtue without such an example, how should they not have been witnessed more generous *in* undergoing after the example? And at the same time this *appears* to me, and to all other lovers of God, a certain mystic, and secret, and very credible saying, that none of those who were made perfect before the coming of Christ, obtained this gift without faith in Christ. For the Word was openly preached afterwards in its own season: nevertheless it was previously known to those who were pure of mind, as is manifest from many who had been honoured before His coming. Therefore, those are not to be neglected because they were before *the date* of the cross; but they are trustworthy because they have suffered according to the cross, and they are worthy of the honour to be derived from words; not in order that their glory may receive an increase (for what increase could the glory of

those receive from words whose end contains glory itself?) but in order that those who praise them may be glorified, and those who hear may imitate their virtue, being impelled by the recollections *of those things* as by a goad to the performance of equal things. But being what manner of men, and starting originally whence, and from what training and teaching, those *Machabees* have advanced to such a degree of virtue and glory, as to be honoured by those yearly ceremonies and festivals, and as that a greater glory than *what is declared by the* things seen, should be excited in the souls of all; the book concerning them will show to those who love learning and labour, *the book I mean which* argues that reason is the master of the passions and lord of the propensity to both—I mean virtue and vice. For he made use of other examples not a few, and also of the struggles of those. But to me it will be sufficient to have said so much. Eleazar *is* therein the first fruits of those before Christ, as Stephen was of those after, a priest and an elder, hoary in locks and hoary in wisdom, at an earlier period offering sacrifice and praying for the people, but now coming forward himself a most perfect sacrifice to God, purificatory of the entire people, a fortunate prelude of the contest; an exhortation, at once speaking and silent, but bringing forward in addition his seven sons, the fruits of his training, "a living sacrifice, truly pleasing to God", more brilliant, and purer than any legal sacrifice. For that one should ascribe the *virtues* of the children to the father is amongst the most legitimate and the justest *proceedings*. Those generous and great-souled children, the noble offspring of a noble mother, zealous champions of the truth, more sublime than the days of Antiochus, genuine disciples of the law, rigid observers of the customs of their fathers; *being seven* (*which* number is of the *numbers* most reverenced by the Hebrews, as being honoured by the mystery of the seven days' rest), breathing one thing, looking towards one thing, seeing one way of life, brethren not less in soul than in body, rivals amongst each other for death (O wondrous thing!), struggling to be foremost in securing tortures as treasures; fighting in the first rank for the law their teacher, not so much fearing those of the tortures brought forward, as seeking those that remained behind; fearing this one thing, lest the tyrant should desist from torturing, and lest some of them should depart uncrowned, and should against their will be unyoked from their brethren, and might win the shameful victory, running the risk of not suffering. There, was the brave and generous mother loving her children and loving God at the same time, and having

her maternal bowels torn beyond the habit of nature. For she did not pity her children suffering, but she was in agony lest they should not suffer; nor did she so much long after the dead, as she prayed that those left behind might be added to them, and her account was more of these, than of who had already passed from life. For the struggle of these was doubtful, the release of those was certain; and those she had already consigned to God, but she was still in concern that God might take these. O manly soul in a woman's body! O wonderful and magnanimous gift! O sacrifice equal to that of Abraham! even if no greater praise can be ventured upon. For he, indeed, freely brings forward one, even though it be his only one, the child who had been born according to the promise, and concerning whom the promise had been made, and what is greater because he stands forward the first fruits and the root, not only of his race, but of all sacrifices of this description; but she sacrifices to God an entire people of children; having excelled both mothers and priests by her victims ready for slaughter, by her rational holocausts, by her willing sacrifices. She showed them her breasts and reminded them of their nursing: and put forward her gray hairs and advanced her old age as by way of supplication, not seeking their deliverance, but urging them to suffer, and regarding delay, not death, as the danger. Whom nothing bent, nothing softened, nothing made less daring; not the racks[19] stretched before her; not the wheels brought forward; not the trochanteres; not the katapeltæ; not the points of iron hooks; not the sharpened swords; not the boiling cauldrons; not the fire kindled; not the threatening tyrant; not the people; not the guard pressing on; not her offspring beheld by her; not their limbs torn asunder; not their lacerated flesh; not the flowing streams of blood; not their youth which was being consumed; not the present terrors; not the expected sufferings. And what to others is most grievous in such matters, the prolongation of the danger, to her was light: for she revelled in the spectacle. For, not only did the variety of the tortures brought forward cause a delay to their sufferings, all which they contemned as another would not have contemned even one torture; but also the varied speeches of the persecutor, as he insulted, threatened, or flattered, or set in motion what not, in order to attain what he hoped for.

And, truly, the answers of the children also to the tyrant are to be mentioned; those answers having so much wisdom and generosity together, that in comparison to their fortitude all

the great actions of others collected into one, are small; and that their fortitude was small compared with the understanding in their words, and *with the circumstance* that it was theirs alone so to suffer, and to philosophize *so spiritually* in their answers to the threats of the persecutors, and to the terrors held out to them, of whom none were more lost, neither the noble children, nor the nobler mother. But placing herself above all, and mingling *inspired* passion with *the charm* of love, she bestows herself as a beautiful shroud upon her children, having followed those who went before. And how this? Of her own accord going forward to dangers, and, with what epitaphs! For the words of the children also to the tyrant were noble, and noblest of the noble (for how should it not be so?) wherewith they stood armed, and wherewith they struck the tyrant: but more noble were the words of the mother: both the exhorting words which she spoke first, and the words which she afterwards spoke as an epitaph. What, then, were the words of the children? for it is meet to remind you of those also, in order that you may have a type, as of the struggle, so also of the words used by martyrs[194] on such occasions. The words of each, indeed, were different, and *were* spoken according as the words of the persecutors, or the order of the dangers, or the zeal of each one's soul armed him with them. But in order to take them together in one specimen, they were of this sort.

"To us, indeed, O Antiochus, and all ye who stand around, there is one king, namely, God, by whom we were made, and to whom we return; and one lawgiver, Moses, whom we will not betray nor insult: no, *we swear* by the danger *encountered* by the man for virtue's sake, and by his many wonders, not if another Antiochus more cruel than thou should threaten us. But there is one security for us, namely, the keeping his command, and the not breaking the law by which we are fenced in: but there is one glory for us, that, namely, of despising all glory for such things: but there is one wealth, namely, the things which we hope for; but nothing is dreadful to us save that anything be dreadful before God. With these reasons we are arrayed for fight, and thus are we armed. Unto youths of this kind is the discourse now. Sweet indeed is also this world: sweet is the soil of our country, and our friends, and relations, and companions, and this temple, and its great and renowned name, and our country's festivals, and our mysteries, and all the things in which we seem to differ from other nations; but they are not so dear as God, and as the danger, which we undergo for honour.

Do not imagine this. For there is for us another world, much more sublime and lasting than this. But our country is the Jerusalem above, to which no Antiochus shall lay siege, nor will it look to be subjected, strong and impregnable as it is: but our kindred is the breathing of life into man, and those who have been born according to virtue: but our friends are the prophets and the patriarchs, with whom also is for us the model of piety: but our companions, those who to-day are undergoing danger along with us, and are our cotemporaries in fortitude. But Heaven is far more magnificent than the temple. But our festival is the choir of angels, and our one great mystery, the greatest of all, and hidden from the multitude, is God, to whom those mysteries also here below refer. Cease, therefore, from promising us small and worthless advantages, for we will not be honoured by things without honour, nor will we gain hurtful things: we will not traffic so miserably. Cease also from threatening, or we shall threaten in our turn, to convict thy weakness: and for this purpose we shall threaten thee with our punishments. For we also have a fire by which we punish persecutors. Dost thou think that thy struggle is with nations and cities, or with the most cowardly of kings, of whom some will conquer, and others in like manner be defeated? For neither do they encounter danger about such matters as we do. Thou art in arms against the law of God, against the tables graven by God, against national rites, honoured by reason and by time, against seven brethren bound together with one soul, who are about to inscribe thy name upon seven trophies of thy infamy, to prevail over whom would be nothing great, and to be conquered by whom is altogether disgraceful. We are the sons and the disciples of those whom a pillar of fire and of a cloud led upon their way, for whom the sea divided and the river stood, and the sun was interrupted *in his course*, and bread rained, and the stretching out of hands routed many, having defeated them through prayer; by whom wild beasts were worsted, and whom fire did not touch, and from whom kings departed admiring their nobleness. And we shall tell thee something of the things familiar to thyself. We are the disciples of Eleazar, whose courage thou knowest. Our father underwent the struggle before us: his children will undergo the struggle after him. Thou hast sought to terrify us in many things: we have prepared ourselves for more. What wilt thou do to us with thy threats, insolent man? What shall we suffer? Nothing can be stronger than those who are prepared to suffer all things. Executioners, why do you delay? Why do you put off? Why do

you await a clement order? Where are the swords, where the chains? I require speed! Let more fire be kindled. Let more active beasts be brought forward, let more elaborate tortures *be produced;* let all things be royal and splendid. I am the first-born: sacrifice me first. I am the last; let the order be changed. Let some one of the intermediate *brothers* be amongst the first, in order that they may be honoured by equality of lot. Dost thou forbear? Dost thou expect, perchance, something contrary to what I have said? Again and oftentimes will we speak the same word for thee: we will not eat unclean meats, we will not give in. Thou wilt sooner adore our mysteries, than we will yield to thy rites. To speak in one word, either invent newer punishments, or know that thy actual punishments are despised by us".

These things indeed they spake to the tyrant; but the things which they said by way of exhortation to each other, and the things which they afforded to be seen, how beautiful and sacred were they not, and sweet to the lover of God beyond any other spectacle, or aught that may be heard? I, indeed, remembering them, am myself filled with sweetness, and am in spirit with them in their struggle, and glory in this narrative *of their history.* They embraced and kissed each other, and it was as it were a festival to men who had already come to the end of their struggles. "Let us go, brethren, to *meet* the dangers", they cried; "let us go, let us hasten, whilst the tyrant still boils *with rage* against us, lest he may be in any degree softened, and we may lose our salvation. The complete banquet lies before us, let us not be left behind. It is a beautiful thing when brethren dwell together, and feast together, and embrace each other, but it is more beautiful when together they encounter danger for virtue. If it were possible, we should with our bodies have struggled for our national laws: for this death also is amongst those deserving of praise. But since the present is not the *time* for this, let us bring forward our bodies themselves. For what is the case? Even suppose we do not die now, are we not to die at all? Shall we not pay the service due to our birth? Let us make necessity into zeal. Let us deceive our dissolution. Let not any one of us be a lover of life, or cowardly. Let the tyrant, dealing with us, despair of the others. He himself will assign their order to our trials; but it is we who will put an end to the persecutions. Let us not differ about this in the fervour of our eagerness; and let the first be a path to the others, and let the last be a seal of the struggle. But let this be a fixed determination for us all alike, that we be crowned universally, and that the persecutor take no

portion from our merit, nor swelling in wickedness, may glory in one conquered, as if he had conquered all. Let us appear brethren both in birth and in death; let us all seek danger as one, and let each one meet it on behalf of all. Receive us, O Eleazar: accompany us, O mother: Jerusalem, bury thy children magnificently, if anything of us be left to thee for burial. Relate our sufferings, and show to those *coming* after *us*, and to those who love thee, the blessed burying-place of the children of one womb".

But those indeed having said and done those things, and having sharpened each other like the teeth of wild boars, persevered *each one* in the order of his age and in the equality of his eagerness. They were a delight and a wonder to those of their own tribe; a fear and astonishment to the persecutors; who, having gone to war against the entire nation, were so easily overcome by the concord of seven brothers struggling for piety, that they had no encouraging hope concerning the others.

But the noble mother, truly the mother of children *such as* these, *of children* such and so great in virtue, that great and magnanimous nurseling of the law for a time was blended of joy and fear, and was upon the boundary line of two feelings. She was in joy on account of the courage of her sons, and of the things which she saw; she was in fear on account of the delay, and the extreme character of the sufferings, and as a bird *acts* when a serpent or any of the insidious *enemies* creeps in, she flew around her young, she screamed around them, she supplicated, she struggled along with them, doing and saying what not of those things, exhorting them to virtue. She caught up the drops of blood, she received the fragments of the limbs, she venerated their remains. She gathered up this, she held out that, she prepared the other, she called out to all, "Well done, my children, well done, my brave ones, almost bodiless in bodies; well done, ye champions of the law, and of my gray hairs, and of the city which has reared you and led you forward to this virtue: a little yet, and we have conquered. Are the torturers tired? This is the only thing I fear: a little yet, and I shall be blessed amongst mothers, and you shall be blessed amongst youths. But do you long for your mother? I shall not be left behind you, that I promise you. I do not so hate my children". But when she saw that they were dead, and she now had security, by reason of the completion of their martyrdom, then, having raised her head very joyfully, like one conquering in the Olympic games, with sublime spirit, and, having stretched out her hands, she says, "I return thanks to Thee, O Holy Father, and to thee, O law, my in-

structress, and to thee Eleazar, our father, and who hast gone before thy children in the struggle, because you have received the fruit of my throes, and because I have become a mother sacred above all mothers. I have left nothing to the world; I have handed over all to God, my entire treasure, the hopes that cherished my old age. How magnificently have I not been honoured! how exceedingly has not my old age been cherished! I have the rewards of your nurture, O my children, I have seen you struggling for virtue, I have beheld you all crowned. I look upon the torturers as benefactors; and I almost give thanks to the tyrant for the order of our sufferings, because he has reserved me last for the danger, in order that, having first looked on at my own offspring, and, having struggled in each one of my own children, I may thus, with complete security, follow those perfect victims. I will not tear my hair, I will not rend my garments, I will not scratch my flesh with my nails, I will not excite lamentation, I will not call fellow-mourners, I will not shut myself up in darkness, in order that the air may lament along with me; I will not expect consolers; I will not set out the bread of grief; for those are the demonstrations of ignoble mothers, who are mothers only according to the flesh, whose children depart without any distinguished commendation. But ye, most beloved of children, have not died for me, but you have been gathered to God; you have not departed, but you have passed elsewhere; you have not been torn, but fixed together. No wild beast has torn you; the wave has not drowned you; no robber has destroyed you; no sickness has wrought your dissolution; war has not carried you off; nor any other of mortal occurrences, small or great. I should have lamented, and very vehemently, if any of those things had happened to you. I should have then appeared a lover of my children by my tears, as now I appear so by my not weeping. But those mischances are yet small things. I should have bewailed you if you had been disgracefully saved, if you had been conquered by the torturers, if the persecutors had conquered any of you as they have now been conquered. But the things that have happened now are *the source of* praise, joy, glory, festivity, and brilliancy to those left behind. For I am poured out after you. We shall be ranked with Phineas, we shall be glorified with Anne, unless so far as he was but one, whereas you are such numerous slayers of harlots, having to-day pierced not the harlotry of the body, but that of the soul; and he indeed sacrificed but one gift to God, and that one lately born, whereas I have sacrificed seven men and those, willing men, to God. And

Jeremiah also has filled up for me their epitaph, not lamenting, but praising this holy end. "You have been brighter than snow; you were curdled beyond milk; your assembly *is beautiful* beyond the sapphire". The assembly of you, begotten to God and offered to God. What more remains? Add me, O tyrant, to my children, if there be any favour amongst enemies, in order that the conflict may be more illustrious for thee. And may it be granted me to pass through all those sufferings, in order that I may mingle my juices with their juices, and my old flesh with their flesh (I love the very punishments for my children's sake). But if this be not so, *consign* my dust to their dust, and let one tomb receive us. Do not grudge an equally honourable end to those who have been of equal honour in their virtue.

"Farewell, O ye mothers, farewell, O ye children. Let you, the former, so rear those coming from you: and be ye, the latter, so reared. We have given you a noble example. So struggle". She said those things, and added herself to her children. After what manner? Running to the pile (for to this was she sentenced) *as a bride* to the bridal-chamber, not awaiting those who were to take her thither, in order that nothing impure might touch her pure and noble body. Thus did Eleazar exercise his priesthood. Eleazar, who had learned and had taught Heavenly things, and having sanctified Israel, not by a sprinkling from without, but by his own blood, and having made his end the final mystery *celebrated by him*. Thus did the children exercise their youth, not having been slaves to pleasures, but ruling over their passions and purifying their bodies, and being transferred to a life free from passion. Thus did the mother enjoy her fruitfulness. Thus was she proud of them while living, and ended her life along with them, departing, having given over to God those whom she had begotten to the world, and having reckoned by her conflicts *the number of* her throes in child-birth, and marked the course of births by the deaths *of her offspring*. For, from the first to the last of her children, *they all underwent* the struggle; and one after the other, as in the succession of the waves, exhibited his virtue, and was more eager for suffering, having been strengthened by the sufferings *of him* who had preceded him, so that the tyrant was well pleased that she had not been the mother of more such sons: for he rather went away turned to shame and defeated; and then he learned for the first time, that he was not able to accomplish all things by arms, since he had attacked unarmed boys, *or rather boys* armed with one thing, piety, and more willing to suffer all things than to do what he commanded

them. This deed of theirs was more firm and more noble than the sacrifice of Jephthe. For the heat of the promise, and the desire of the despaired-of victory, did not make, as there, the gift compulsory, but the sacrifice was a willing one, and had only the things hoped for as a reward. This was not less honourable than the struggle of Daniel, who had been given as food to the lions, and who had overcome the lions by the stretching out of his hands. This was not second to the great act of the youths in Assyria, whom an angel refreshed in the fire, not having broken the law of their fathers, nor having taken into their mouths profane and unholy food. This is not inferior in zeal to those victims who afterwards suffered for Christ. For those, indeed (a thing which I said beginning my discourse), followed the blood of Christ, and God was the leader of such struggles, *God*, who had imparted so great and incredible a gift upon our behalf: but to those there were not many, nor such like examples. All Judea, indeed, marvelled at the fortitude of those, and exulted and stood erect as if she had herself been crowned. For, this contest was the greatest of all the contests at any time surrounding the city, namely, whether the law should be overturned on that day or be glorified: and the consequences of that struggle were standing, as it were, upon the edge of a razor for the whole Jewish race. But Antiochus himself admired, having changed his threats into wonder. For, even enemies know how to admire virtue, when, their passion being appeased, the action is estimated according to itself. So that he also went away, having done nothing, and having also greatly praised his father, Seleucus, for the honour which he had done to the nation, and for his munificence towards the temple, and having greatly blamed Simon, who had led him on, as the cause of his cruelty and of his disgrace. Let us *all*, priests, mothers, and children, honour those. The first indeed in honour of Eleazar, their spiritual father, who has given them the best example in word and work; but mothers, in honour of that generous mother, being first lovers of their children, and offering to Christ those who have come from them, in order that marriage may be sanctified by such a sacrifice; but the children, reverencing the children of the priest, and spending their youth not in shameful passions, but in struggles against the passions, and fighting bravely against the Antiochus of our day, who wages war upon all our members, and persecutes us in various ways. For I desire to have combatants for every time and manner, and of every kind and every age, whether openly attacked or secretly plotted against, and that they should

be assisted as well by the old narratives as by the new, and that like bees they should collect all things profitable for the formation and the sweetening of one honey-comb, in order that, through both the Old and the New Testaments, God, who is glorified in the Son and in the Spirit, may be glorified in us, knowing His own, and being known by His own, confessed and confessing, glorified and glorifying in Christ Himself, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

SAINT GREGORY OF NYSSA.

FUNERAL ORATION OF SAINT MELETIUS.

A NEW apostle has increased for us the number of the apostles, having been ranked amongst the apostles by concurrent votes; for the saints have drawn to themselves one of similar life; the athletes, a brother athlete; those who have been crowned, one similarly crowned; the clean in heart, one pure in soul; the ministers of the Word, a preacher of the Word. Our father, indeed, is most blessed in the fellowship of the apostles, and his dissolution unto Christ; but we are to be pitied, for the untimeliness of our orphanage does not allow us to congratulate ourselves upon the happy lot of our father. It is better for him to be with Christ through his dissolution; but it is hard for us to be separated from the guardianship of our father. For, behold! now is the time for counsel, and he who should advise us is silent; war, the heretical war, has encompassed us, and there is no general. The common body of the Church labours under weakness, and we find no physician. Consider in what straits are our affairs. I would wish, if it were possible, having braced up my weakness, to rise with the greatness[195] of our misfortune, and let some sound break forth worthy of our suffering, as those generous men have done, who have with a loud voice bewailed their misfortune at *the loss of* our father. But what do I suffer? How shall I force my tongue to the ministry of speech, fettered by our heavy misfortune, as by a certain fetter? How shall I open my mouth, overpowered by speechlessness? How shall I utter a sound, declining into suffering and lamentation, by reason of our intimacy? How shall I look up with the eyes of my soul, veiled as I am with the mist of grief? Who, dispelling for me this deep and

darksome cloud of sorrow, will show to me again from serenity the bright ray of peace? But whence will the ray shine again, now that our luminary has set? O evil mornless night, which dost not expect the rising of the luminary! In what an opposite sense are not our words in the present place, and the words lately spoken *there!* Then, in bridal sort, did we sing in choir;[196] now we pitiably groan over our suffering: then, we sang the bridal song; now we sing the epitaph. For, you recollect when we celebrated with banquets that spiritual marriage, bringing home the virgin to the beautiful bridegroom, and we brought forward our dowry of words according to our power, giving joy, and rejoicing in turn. But now our joy has been converted into grief, and the garment of rejoicing has become sackcloth. Perhaps our suffering ought to be silent, and to lock up in silence its sorrow within, in order that we may not trouble the sons of the bridegroom, not having the brilliant garment of marriage, but having the black garb of mourning in our words. For since the beautiful bridegroom has been taken away from us, we have been suddenly blackened with grief; we cannot brighten our speech according to custom; the envy *of misfortune* has stripped from us the garment which adorned us. Full of good things, we came to meet you; we return from you, naked and poor. We had erect over our heads the torch resplendent with rich light; we carry back the same extinguished, the light having been dissolved into smoke and ashes. We had the great treasure in an earthen vessel: but the treasure indeed is not to be seen, but the earthen vessel, empty of the treasure, is preserved for those who gave it to us. What shall we say, who have been sent with it? What shall we answer, when asked for it? O evil shipwreck! how have we suffered shipwreck of our hope in the middle of the port? How has the ship, stored with an infinite freight, foundering along with its fulness, left us, lately rich, now naked? Where is that brilliant sail which was always directed by the Holy Spirit? Where that firm rudder of our souls,[197] by means of which we sailed unhurt through the heretical billows? Where is that immovable anchor of his mind, by which, when labouring, we rested with the utmost safety? Where is the good pilot, directing the ship to the destination above?

Are the things which have befallen us small, and I do vainly make those impassioned appeals? Or rather is it not that I cannot reach my emotion, how loud soever my voice be in speech? Lend to us, O brethren, lend to us a store of tears from your sympathy; for when you were rejoicing, we shared in your joy.

Wherefore now give us back this sad compensation. "To rejoice with them that rejoice", that we have done. "To weep with them that weep",—do ye give us that in turn. Formerly a foreign people wept over the patriarch Jacob, and made the misfortune of others its own: when his children carrying him away out of Egypt, all bewailed their misfortune upon his behalf in a foreign land, keeping up their lamentation for him thirty days and as many nights. Ye who are his brethren, and of the same tribe, imitate those of another tribe. The weeping of the strangers and of the natives was then common; let our weeping now be in common, since one feeling is common to us all. See those patriarchs *around us*. All those were children of our Jacob. They are all from the free woman—no one is spurious, no one supposititious. For it was not lawful for him to introduce a servile relationship into the nobility of the faith. Wherefore he was our father, because he was the father of our father. You lately listened to Ephraim and Manasseh, what and how great things they related concerning their father, and how the wonders exceeded their speech; allow me also to speak concerning those things. For it is now no longer dangerous to speak in a strain of praise: nor do I fear envy, for what worse can it do to me?

Know, therefore, the manner of man he was: Well-born, of those from the rising of the Son; blameless, just, truthful, God-fearing, abstaining from every evil deed. For neither will the great Job be jealous if his imitator should be adorned with the testimonies borne concerning himself. But envy, seeing all *good* things, saw also our good with his evil eye, and roving alone through the world, has also walked about amongst us, having infixed the broad print of affliction upon our prosperity. He did not ravage herds of oxen and flocks of sheep, unless according to the mystic signification, one transfer *the term* sheepfold to the Church. But this hurt from envy did not work its damage amongst us in camels and asses, nor did it embitter our senses by a wound of the flesh; but he took away our very head: but along with the head went away the honourable organs of sense. We have no longer an eye looking upon Heavenly objects: we have no longer a sense for hearing capable of listening to the divine voice; nor that tongue—the pure gift of truth. Where is that sweet serenity of the eyes, where the bright smile upon the lips? Where that right hand familiar in salutation, waving the fingers in concert with the kind greeting of the mouth?

But I am urged, as if upon the stage, to cry our calamity aloud. I pity thee, O Church; to thee I address myself, city of

Antioch. I pity thee for this sudden change. How has thy beauty been disfigured? "Truly, the grass is withered and the flower is fallen". What evil eye, what wicked malice revelled through the churches? What things has she given us, and in exchange for what? The spring has left us, the river has been dried up, the water has been changed again into blood. O that unhappy intelligence which will announce its suffering to the Church! Who shall tell to the children that they have been left orphans? Who shall announce to the bride that she has been widowed? O misfortune! What did they send out, and what do they receive back? They sent out the ark, and they receive a sepulchre. The man of God was an ark, O my brethren, having in himself the divine mysteries. There was the golden pot, full of the divine manna, full of the Heavenly food. In it were the tables of the Testament, inscribed on the tables of the heart by the spirit of the living God, not by ink, for no misty and black thought was burned into the purity of his heart. In it were the pillars, the bases, the capitals, the censer, the candlestick, the propitiatory, the basins, and the curtains of the entrance. In it was the rod of the priesthood, which blossomed in his hands; and if we have heard that the ark contained anything else, all were included in the soul of the man. But, instead of those, what have we? Let speech be silent. We have clean napkins and the textures of the Chinese, a profusion of unguents and spices, the liberality of an accomplished and noble woman; for it shall be told, in order that things may be as a testimony to her, what she has done concerning the priest, having profusely poured out an alabaster box of ointment upon the head of the priest. But what is preserved in these *cloths of linen and silk?* Dead bones, which before death meditated upon death, the sad reminders of our misfortunes! O what a voice will be heard again in Rama! Rachel bewailing not her children, but her husband, and not receiving consolation. Have done, have done, O ye consolers. Do not try to console. Let the widow grieve deeply, let her feel the bereavement wherewith she has been bereaved, although she is not without experience of separation, having already accustomed herself to bear solitude in the conflicts of the athlete.

You all remember how the address before ours related the conflicts of the man, and how, honouring above all things the Holy Trinity, in the number also of his struggles, he preserved his honour, having struggled with three attacks of temptation. You have heard the course of his labours; such as he was in the

first, such was he in the intermediate, such was he in the last. I consider the repetition of things well said superfluous, but, perhaps, it will not be unseasonable to say just so much. When the modest Church first saw her spouse, she saw a countenance truly formed in the image of God; she saw love gushing forth from it; she saw grace poured forth over his lips, and the loftiest summit of humility, beyond which nothing can be imagined; clemency, like *that of* David; understanding, like *that of* Solomon; goodness, like *that of* Moses; strictness, like *that of* Samuel; modesty, like *that of* Joseph; wisdom, like *that of* Daniel; she saw him, like the great Elias in the zeal of the faith; like the sublime John in the purity of his body; like Paul in his intimate love. She saw the concurrence of so many good qualities in the one soul; she was wounded by blessed love, having loved her bridegroom in pure and holy modesty. But, before gratifying her eagerness, before appeasing her desire, while still in the fervour of love, she was left alone, trials calling the athlete to his conquests. And thus he was struggling in his sweats for piety; but she remained keeping her marriage faith in continence. There was a considerable time in the interval, and some adulterously attempted the immaculate couch, but the bride was not polluted; and again there was a return, and again a flight; and a third time similarly, until the Lord, dissipating the heretical mist, and introducing the ray of peace, enabled us to hope for some rest from those long labours; but when they saw each other again, and their chaste love and their spiritual joys were renewed, and their desire was again enkindled, his last departure at once interrupted the enjoyment. He came dressing us as it were a bride for the bridegroom, and he did not miss the object of his zeal. He placed the crowns of blessing upon this beautiful union. He imitated his Master. As the Lord did in Cana of Galilee, even so here did the imitator of Christ, for he made the Jewish water-vessels, which had been full of heretical water, full of pure wine, having changed their nature in the power of faith. He often placed before you the sober goblet, having abundantly poured out grace with his sweet voice. He, indeed, went before as he blessed, but these noble disciples administered to the crowd, breaking *the bread of* the word into fragments, and we rejoiced, considering the glory of the race our own.

How beautiful hitherto have been *our* narratives, how blessed it would be to desist from *our* address here! But after those things what took place? "Call the mourners", says Jeremiah, for it is not possible that the heaving heart could otherwise be kept

under, swelling as it does with grief, if not relieved by[198] groans and tears. Then the hope of return consoled *us for* his departure. Now he has departed his last departure. A great gulf has been fixed between him and his Church. He, indeed, rests in the bosom of Abraham; but there is no one to carry the drop of water in order that he may refresh the tongue of those who are in pain. That beauty has departed—the voice is silent—the lips have closed,—the grace has flown. Our happiness has become a matter of history. Elias formerly, flying up to God, gave pain to the people of Israel; but Elisæus, adorned with the mantle[199] of his master, consoled *them for his* departure. You have heard certain sad and mournful sounds of Jeremiah, in which he bewailed the city of Jerusalem as laid desert, who related some other things pathetically, and says also those things, "The streets of Zion grieve". Those things were then said—now they have been fulfilled; for when the report of our suffering shall have been announced, then the streets will be full of those grieving, and those who had been pastured by him will be poured out, imitating the sound of the Ninevites upon the occasion of their suffering, or rather lamenting in a more pitiable way than they; since, for the former, their lamentation dissolved their fear, whereas for the latter no dissolution of their grief is hoped for from their lamentations.

I know a certain other saying of Jeremiah, which is reckoned amongst the books of the Psalms, which he expressed concerning the captivity of Jerusalem, but the passage says that we have hung our harps upon the willows, condemning to silence ourselves and our instruments. I shall make this canticle my own. For, if I see the heretical confusion (but Babylon is confusion), and if I see those temptations which flow through confusion, those I say are the rivers of Babylon, sitting by which we weep, because we have not any one to lead us through those. But if I mention the willows, and the instruments upon them, this allusion is also mine. For truly our life is in the willow—for the willow is a barren tree, but from us the sweet fruit of life has dropped. Wherefore we have become barren willows, having our idle and motionless instruments hung upon the branches. "If I forget thee, O, Jerusalem", he says, "let my right hand be forgotten". Suffer me to alter a little what has been written, for it is not we who have forgotten the right hand, but the right hand that has forgotten us, and the tongue, cleaving to its own palate, has obstructed the passages of the voice, so that we may no longer hear that sweet voice.

But wipe away those tears, for I perceive that I have been unmanned by my feelings beyond what is necessary. The bridegroom has not been taken from us—he stands in the midst of us, even though we do not see him. The High Priest is in the sanctuary—he is gone into the inner parts, behind the veil, whither Christ, our precursor, entered. He has left the veil of the flesh. He no longer serves the sign and shadow of Heavenly things, but he contemplates the very image of things; he converses with God, no longer in a glass and in an enigma, but face to face. But he converses with Him on behalf of our sins and those of the people. He has put off the garments of skin, for there is no need of those garments for those who live in Paradise; but he has garments which, having woven from the purity of his life, he has adorned himself therewith. Precious before the Lord is the death of such an one; or rather it is not death, but a breaking of one's chains. "For thou hast broken my chains", he says. Simeon has gone—he has been freed from the chains of the body. The net has been broken, and the sparrow has flown. He has left Egypt, this material life. He has passed, not this red, but this black and misty sea of life. He has entered into the land of promise; he converses upon the mountain with God; he has put off the shoe of the soul, in order that he might tread with the pure step of his mind the holy land where God is beheld.

Having this consolation, my brethren, ye who carry the bones of Joseph to the place of blessing, hear the words of Paul, who commands, "Be not sorrowful as those who have no hope". Speak to the people there; relate to them those beautiful narratives; tell them the incredible wonder how the people, infinite in multitude, being crowded together into the appearance of a sea, were all one continuous body, forming a sea, like water, around the pomp of the tabernacle: tell them how the noble David, in many parts and in many ways, having distributed himself into a hundred ranks, sang in chorus of men of different tongues and of the same tongue, around the tent; tell them how, on all sides, the streams of fire, flowing in succession, an uninterrupted crowd of torches, were stretched out as far as it was possible for the eye to take them in. Tell them the eagerness of all the people, the congregation of the apostles; how the napkins over his face were plucked away by the faithful as preservatives. Let there be added to the narrative, the Emperor in mourning, descending from his throne, and the entire city accompanying the funeral procession of the holy man; and let you console each other in those words. Solomon heals grief admirably; for he commands that

wine be given to those in grief, saying this to us, the labourers of the vineyard: Give therefore your wine to those who are in grief; not that wine which is the worker of drunkenness, which lies in wait for the mind and corrupts the body, but that which rejoiceth the heart; which the prophet has shown to us, saying: "Wine rejoiceth the heart of man". Receive them with a more racy mixture, and more abundant cups of the word; so that our grief may again be turned into joy and gladness for us, by the grace of the Only-begotten Son of God, through whom be glory to God and the Father, for ever and ever. Amen.

THE END.

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NOTES.

1. Page 145. "Past", *understand* "times".
2. „ 146. "Curly", "crispis". This epithet, which would be very appropriate and natural as applied to "waves", sounds harsh in connection with "meanderings".
3. *Ib.* "Meanderings", "erroribus", "errors" might be preferable in translation, but for the metaphorical meaning of the word, which has almost superseded the literal sense.
4. Page 147. "Roll", "irrotare", literally "ras, a wheel".
5. *Ib.* "Let us betake ourselves to petamus"; literally "let us seek".
6. *Ib.* "Privacy", literally "secret *places*".
7. *Ib.* "Portico", perhaps more properly "piazza".
8. *Ib.* "Gratify", "amænamus". This word is of low Latinity, and not quite capable of accurate translation.
9. *Ib.* "The hearing", *i.e.* "the sense of hearing".
10. *Ib.* "Harvest", "fruges", literally "fruit", "grain".
11. Page 148. "Animated", "animatus", that is, "having received the principle of life", not *excited* or inspirited.
12. *Ib.* "Compact troops", literally "wedges".
13. Page 149. "Regenerating", "genitalis" the translation is not strictly literal.
14. *Ib.* "Having turned thy eyes", literally "having stretched forward": a harsh and scarcely intelligible metaphor.
15. *Ib.* "More cruel", literally "more bitter".
16. Page 150. "Contagion", literally "contagions".
17. „ 152. "Cumulative", literally "heaped up".
18. „ 153. "A languor breaking out": it was necessary to translate the passage in some such way, but "prorumpente" in connection with "languor" is a singularly inapplicable word.
19. Page 154. Literally "of dying".
20. „ 155. "Are usually filled": more literally "are wont to be filled".
21. „ 156. "Whereby sight was to be exercised": literally "whereby it was to be seen".
22. „ 157. "Into one", sc. "visum".
23. Page 158. "Connected", "solidatus", in the modern sense of "consolidated", "united".
24. Page 159. By a "testudo". It was thought better to give the Latin name of this military contrivance, with which all students are familiar, than to translate the word, which in its English form would sound quite absurd.

25. Page 160. "In fingers", literally "into fingers".
26 Page 161. "Sinks". Here the verb is transitive—*understand* "men".
27. *Ib.* "Mentioned", "induxerunt", more literally "introduced".
28. *Ib.* "Steep", "arduam", more literally "high", "difficult".
29. *Ib.* "Enjoyments", more literally "pleasantnesses", if the latter word could take that form.
30. Page 162. "Fruitful", "copiosam", literally "abundant".
31. „ 165. "To be relinquished", literally "to be left out".
32. „ 166. "With various kinds of ambition", literally "with ambitions".
33. *Ib.* "Hills", literally "heaps".
34. Page 167. "Resting place", "hospitium", "hospice".
35. *Ib.* "Union", more strictly "the uniting".
36. *Ib.* "Starving", "jejuna", literally "fasting".
37. Page 168. "Am to represent in", literally "am to weave unto you".
38. Page 169. "Along his entire line", the common translation of "avis atque atavis", more literally "in his grandfathers and great grandfathers".
39. Page 169. "Floating", literally "fluttering".
40. „ 170. "Seed", "germen", "germ".
41. *Ib.* "Springs", literally "bursts forth".
42. Page 171. "There succeed to the ear", that is, "there come to the ear".
43. *Ib.* "For the use of man", literally "for human utility".
44. *Ib.* "In offspring", literally "into offspring".
45. Page 172. "In their leaves", more properly "in their petals".
46. *Ib.* "Guarded", literally "encompassed", "surrounded".
47. *Ib.* "Bearing fruit", literally "making fruit".
48. *Ib.* "Of which its fruit". This is strictly literal: the more correct English translation would be "whose fruit".
49. Page 173. "Of its enjoyment", literally "of the discharge of its function".
50. Page 173. "Of his reason", *i. e.* "rational faculty".
51. *Ib.* "Being run out"; a somewhat inappropriate word, as applied to a flower.
52. Page 174. "It is infused". According to modern forms of speech, it is the foreign substance that is said to be infused into the water, and not, as here, the water into the substance.
53. Page 174. "It gets drugged", literally "it becomes heavy".
54. *Ib.* "Transfused into the soft nature of oil", that is to say, into a mucilage, or something resembling oil".
55. Page 174. See supra 54.
56. *Ib.* "The apple", here for fruit generally.
57. *Ib.* "Oily", literally "rich", "fat".
58. Page 175. "From above", literally "divinely".
59. *Ib.* "To have written", literally "to treat", "to dispute", "to discuss".
60. Page 175. "Of the creature", sc. "of the vegetable kingdom".
61. *Ib.* "Excrement", "purgamentorum", "offscouring".
62. *Ib.* "Bright", also "clean", "pure".

64. Page 176. "Was making Himself void", referring to the death of our Lord.
65. Page 176. "The trees", literally "the wood", or rather "the woods", a form which the English word scarcely admits of in this meaning.
66. Page 177. "Common with him", literally "to him".
67. *Ib.* "To frame", literally "to weave".
68. Page 179. "Diptych". There is no English word which quite renders "diptychum".
69. Page 179. "Frame", literally "knot".
70. *Ib.* "Is blessed", "beata", here may well mean "rich", a sense not uncommon in the best writers.
71. Page 180. "Mineral", "metalli", most commonly "metal".
72. „ 182. "Natural virtue", literally "natural disposition of virtue".
73. Page 182. "A reading", probably, in the nature of our "lecture".
73. „ 184. "At whose fall", literally "who falling".
75. „ 186. "Bounties", "largesses".
76. „ 187. "Prætorian fees", "pretiis", "prices".
77. „ 188. "Sweat of death", "death sweat".
78. *Ib.* "Quite absent", literally "most absent".
79. *Ib.* "The phantasm in which", etc., literally "towards which".
80. Page 189. "Of the then Bishop Ambrose", a rather unusual form in Latin, but more familiar in English.
81. Page 190. "Which", sc, "insigne".
82. „ 191. "Wrapt meditation", "inhiando", literally "by gaping or straining after".
83. Page 191. "Rites", literally "sacraments".
84. *Ib.* "What was true", literally "the truth".
85. Page 192. "Serving", "militans", "in military service".
86. *Ib.* "He continued", "Pertendebat". The word is not of classic use in this meaning.
87. Page 193. "So we serve". See supra, N. 85.
88. Page 196. "On foot", literally "on our feet".
89. *Ib.* "In Heaven," "illuc" "there".
90. Page 198. "Big", "gravidus", "heavy".
91. Page 200. "Free from all clamour", literally "empty from", etc.
92. „ 201. "To the weak", "to the unsound".
93. „ 202. "Peaceful", "pacatum", literally "pacified", "set at rest".
94. Page 203. "Honey", literally "honey-comb".
95. *Ib.* "Physicians and nurses", "medicas et altrices". The words are adjectives, and refer to "litteras".
96. Page 204. "Bosom", "sinu"; it may also mean "bay".
97. „ 205. "To draw me", "to draw me forth".
98. *Ib.* "The bond", "fœdus", literally "the treaty".
99. *Ib.* "In his own person", "de se", "of himself".
100. *Ib.* "He studied" "was zealous".
102. Page 206. "Is appealed to", excitatur", "is urged", "is excited".
103. „ 207. "In those writings", "in his", supply "*scriptis*", or "libris".

104. Page 207. "Have uttered". The literal meaning of "eructavit" is much stronger.

105. Page 208. "Accused me", "argueris", "convicted".

106. *Ib.* "Anointed", "impinguari", "enriched", "smeared".

107. Page 208. "May we long have thee", "ætate quam plurimâ", "for as long an age as possible".

108. Page 208. "In his bosom", "sinu suo", or even "in his womb", an expression not unfamiliar to spiritual writers, although speaking of men.

109. *Ib.* "Being grafted", or "implanted".

110. Page 209. "For having wished it", "to have wished it".

111. *Ib.* "It is fearful", literally "it is a trembling".

112. *Ib.* "Therefore, boy, if thou be wise and pious", or "if thou be a wise and pious boy".

113. Page 209. "Kind saying", "vox pia", "kind voice or word".

114. *Ib.* "*When he speaks*", understood.

114*. Page 210. "Whom it pleases", etc., "whom" refers to the antecedent "he".

115. Page 211. "Of infants". The meaning of the passage is not very clear, but it probably refers to neophytes, or those being instructed in the "Christian Doctrine".

116. Page 213. "In what manner", "how".

117. *Ib.* "Tortures me". This is but a weak translation of "excoquat", which it is not possible to render fully.

118. Page 214. "Why art thou boiling over?" "why dost thou boil?" "why dost thou heave?"

119. Page 215. "Bononia", "Bologna".

120. „ 216. "Dissolved", "resolved *into its elements*".

122. „ 218. "As an aid to memory", literally "for the sake of memory".

123. *Ib.* "Youthful years", literally "youthful age".

124. Page 220. "Thus jesting", literally "thus smiling, *allusively*".

125. „ 221. "Lying upon their faces", literally "with prone face".

126. Page 222. "Follow his mind", probably "lag behind his mind".

127. *Ib.* "Bear the name of a false monk", *i. e.*, "falsely bear the name of monk".

128. Page 223. "Suitable gesture", better, perhaps, "dutiful gesture".

129. *Ib.* "Wagging their tails", literally "with fawning tails".

130. Page 228. "On my warfare", militaturus, "about to wage war, about to serve".

131. Page 229. "To the living", "superis", "to those above", "to those in upper air".

132. Page 230. "The inclemency of Sirius", literally "the canicular inclemency", or the "dog-star inclemency".

133. Page 231. "With swift rotation", "rotation" has another meaning in English, here it means "rotatory motion".

134. Page 235. The punctuation of the passage would seem to lead to the following translation: "Let us implore Christ, and the Father of Christ, and", etc., but we have no doubt of the accuracy of our own translation.

135. Page 243. "Leafy shadows:" "pampinea", cannot be translated with a tedious paraphrase.

136. Page 247. "Which had been sent before", literally "his name having been sent before".

137. Page 249. "The divine act", "res divina", or "rem divinam peragere", is usually applied by spiritual writers to the Holy Sacrifice.

138. Page 250. "Openly commanding", literally "before", or "in presence of", "coram".

139. Page 252. "From a source". No single word in this place will render "fontani".

140. Page 253. "Along which", quâ "by which".

141. „ 255. "Salve". We have preferred retaining the Latin word to giving the common translation "Hail", which has amongst us a religious, or at least a very solemn effect.

142. Page 255. "Give a sound"; "sonitum" is very inadequately translated by "sound".

143. Page 255. "Isiac". We have adopted this word preferably to a paraphrase.

144. Page 256. "Its own fault", literally "vice".

145. *Ib.* "Born again", with reference to his own statement, that he was the same person as Euphorbus slain at Troy.

146. Page 257. The passage is one of considerable obscurity; we have endeavoured to make it as clear as possible.

147. Page 258. "The envy of such a gift", with reference to the idea that the precocious are not long lived.

148. Page 265. "Nor are any", etc. "Ullis" is most probably a misprint for "ulli".

149. Page 265. "Hostile", "hosticus"; "hostile" is the closest translation that can be given without a paraphrase.

150. Page 266. "Divine sect". The term "sect" was not always used in an odious sense.

152. Page 268. "Rising empire", literally "empire being born".

153. „ 295. "Those holy men took", literally "received".

154. *Ib.* "Sign", either "baptize" or "confirm".

155. Page 299. "Father's house", "paternam, consuetudinem", "the paternal society", or "paternal friendship".

156. Page 302. "Spared in order that he might return to his brother": literally "put off" or "adjourned".

158. Page 313. "The Christian times", "the prevalence of Christianity in the empire".

159. Page 314. "Of life and morals", not "manners".

160. „ 318. "Admiring thy works", or simply "contemplating thy works".

161. Page 318. "Are not eternity", literally "is not eternal".

162. „ 333. "Of thy client". This is a somewhat free translation; it would literally be "of him who pays respect, or worship, or observance to thee".

163. Page 337. "By the agricultural faith". A strange form of expression, but the only translation possible.

164. Page 338. "A great sum of matters", rather, perhaps, "summary".

165. Page 339. "To write", one of the metaphorical meanings of "exarare".

166. Page 339. "Of our profession". Sc. "Christianity".

167. „ 349. "Supreme" is not the exact translation of "unicum"; and "unique", even if it were English, is not a sufficiently dignified word for a composition like that of St. Eucherius.

168. Page 353. "Such are its professors". It is impossible here to render the play upon words belonging to the phrase "talis profecto *secta* est qualus *sectatores*".

169. Page 354. "Tortures", "questiones", by metonyme for the tortures by which answers to the questions of the judge were compelled.

170. Page 355. "Thundered around", literally "sounded around"

171. „ 356. "In the enjoyment of their senses", sensus sui; *understand* "compotes".

172. Page 357. "Sprightly for dancing", literally "unincumbered".

174. „ 363. "Separate the contention". This translation is hardly English; but an attempt has been made to preserve the point of the original.

175. Page 373. "Laboratories". This is not an altogether correct translation; but "work-shop", a better rendering of "officinas", would be too undignified.

176. Page 376. "Utter with the same mouth", literally "testify with", etc.

177. Page 383. "We may receive", "suscipiamus", literally "we may take upon ourselves".

178. Page 387. "Thy cup bearers", literally "wine pourers".

179. „ 390. "Adornments", properly in the nature of paint.

181. „ 412. "Preached", literally "made proclamation".

182. *Ib.* "The Jewish nation", literally "Jewish affairs".

183. Page 420. "Brilliant bodies", literally "the brilliant *parts* of bodies", or "the brilliant *individuals* of bodies".

184. Page 423. "His power", literally "the things or elements of power".

185. Page 423. "Virtue", a mistake for "wealth".

186. „ 429. "To the intent", "to the will", "to the design".

187. *Ib.* "Compact". The word is used here as a verb; it is, perhaps, not strictly English.

188. Page 432. "The offspring", literally "the thing born or brought forth". The earlier passage is not free from obscurity, and is loosely translated in the Latin version.

189. Page 435. "The dye", literally "the flower".

190. „ 438. "With us", meaning "as our Scriptures lead to".

191. „ 440. "Represented him on the tablets", literally "showed", etc.

192. Page 442. "Being ridiculous in body", literally "as to", or "according to the body".

193. Page 450. "Not the racks". See Note 8, page 209, in Duffy's edition of the original.

194. Page 451. "Used by martyrs", literally "testificatory".

195. „ 458. "With the greatness", literally "with the swelling".

196. „ 459. "Sing in choir", or "dance".

197. *Ib.* "Firm rudder of our souls", literally "safe rudder".

198. Page 463. "Mantle", literally "sheep-skin".

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